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JAPANESE CULTURE
IN THE
MEIJI ERA

Volume V

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LIFE and CULTURE

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TOKYO JAPAN

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JAPANESE LIFE and CULTURE IN THE MEIJI ERA

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THE TOYO BUNKO
TOKYO JAPAN

Published by
THE TOYO BUNKO
(THE ORIENTAL LIBRARY)
Honkomugome 2-chome, 28-21, Bunkyo-ku
Tokyo, Japan.

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First Impression 1958

Reprint Edition 1969

Printed by
HEIBUNSHA Co. Ltd.
Kita Ōtsuka 2 chōme, 33-20, Toshima-ku
Tokyo, Japan

The Change of Lights (1)



Hidebachi and Hide



Standing Lamps



Pine-gum candles



Candlestick

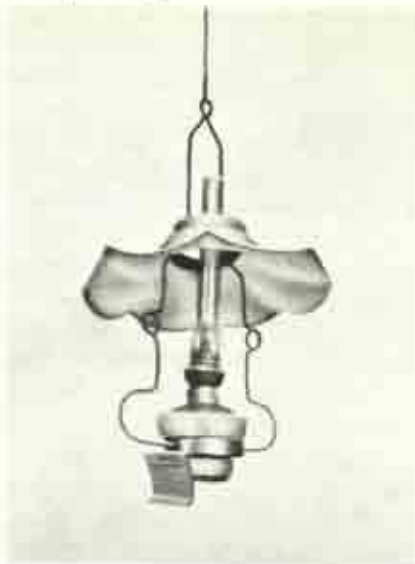


Hanging Lamp (round lamp-chimney)

The Change of Lights (2)



Square Andon (= Japanese lamp)



Hanging Lamp (bamboo chimney)



Students' Room of a certain house in Tokyo
Bare gas lamps are seen (about 1905)



Tokyo Mitsui Bank and Shiseidō (Street gas-lamps are seen at a distance and street oil-lamps near at hand—about 1877.)



Rice-Dealer in Osaka (Rice are being cleaned in a shop-front—in 1888)



The Shop-front of a Cigar-store
(about the age of Sino-Japanese War)



A Shoe-making Factory
(A color-print in 1879)



An up-to-date school-room : An old style of school-room : (in 1881)

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

—LIFE AND CULTURE IN THE MEIJI PERIOD—

THE title we have given this book, *Life in the Meiji Period*, might well be taken to include practically everything covered in the several volumes of this series, and we must therefore at the outset define the limits of our study. In general, we have chosen to concentrate on the history of material culture as revealed in everyday life in the Meiji period. In other words, we shall examine the tangible things—the clothing, the food, the housing, the means of transport—that served as the physical bases for living. For the most part we shall be dealing with perfectly ordinary objects that we see around us every day, rather than with exotic or unusual articles. At the same time, since our purpose is to show how Japanese life changed under the impetus of Westernization, our emphasis will be on items introduced from the West.

No matter how common most of these items are today, there was a time when they were new and astonishing to Japanese eyes. What interests us here is the process whereby new articles from a different cultural sphere came to be regarded as necessities in ordinary Japanese life. Broadly speaking, we shall be concerned with the shift from reliance on foreign products to domestic production thereof, for this is an index to the spread and acceptance of the new "necessities." At the same time, we shall neither confine ourselves to a chronological account of the introduction and spread of various items, which

of itself would have little meaning, nor concentrate entirely on the growth of new industries, for though the latter indicates the degree to which new items were adopted, it does not reveal the manner in which they were received. Our purpose is to show as best we can from the comparatively limited sources available the attitude with which the Japanese accepted Western material culture and the way in which it entered the Japanese home, village, town and city.

The term "material culture" is susceptible to misunderstanding, since in some circles it is the custom to speak of the culture of the West as "material" and that of the East as "spiritual." We intend nothing of the sort. By and large we believe that the basic Japanese attitude toward the acceptance of spiritual culture is the same as toward the acceptance of material culture. And yet it is undeniable that spiritual culture is far more difficult to accept than material culture.

The dichotomy between spiritual and material in this respect, however, is not necessarily valid, and we employ it only for the sake of convenience. The fact is, after all, that material objects can be separated from the culture that produced them and adopted into a different culture with comparative ease, whereas this is by no means the case with ideas and beliefs. To be sure, the use to which a material object is put and the value attached to it are determined by the culture itself, and when the object is transferred from the culture of its origin to a new culture, it may very well acquire a very different significance. The kerosene lamp, for instance, was already exceedingly common in the West when it was introduced to Japan, but in the early Meiji period it was a treasure available only to well-to-do houses and commercial institutions, and Japanese generally associated it in their minds with upper-class life. The lamp then occupied a different place in Meiji culture from the one it had occupied in Western culture, but nevertheless it was a concrete object that could be picked up and moved from the West to Japan, regardless of its significance to its users.

INTRODUCTION

Our point is not that material culture can be transferred whereas spiritual culture cannot. Far from it. Our ultimate purpose, in fact, is to show how completely inseparable the two are. Granted that the people of one culture can accept a physical object from another culture without understanding that culture, still the object itself almost invariably stirs up an interest in the culture that produced it. The intensity with which this interest is pursued varies from time to time and from place to place, but in certain conditions, the simple material object may be the seemingly innocuous fuse that sets off a tremendous explosion. There is no denying, for example, that the cultural transformation of Japan in the Nara period began with a respect for Chinese material culture.

There were Japanese in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods who proposed to adopt the material culture of the West but retain the traditional spiritual culture of Japan. As long as one accepts the idea that material culture and spiritual culture are separate utilities, this sounds reasonable enough, but subsequent events more than amply demonstrated the naivete of this type of thinking. To adopt the physical articles produced in the West it was necessary not only to import them, but to learn to make them, and this was no simple matter. It was immediately discovered that modern machines and implements could not be produced or run without a knowledge of the techniques and scientific principles on which they were based. Schools were therefore established to teach Western science, but Western science proved to be intimately connected not only with Western thought in the larger sense, but with Western economy and Western social systems. Merely to begin learning the principles behind Western material culture involved establishing a new theory of government and a new type of economy. No one could argue that the government and the economy that eventually emerged were "Western," but they were a far cry from what the late Tokugawa and early Meiji leaders had in mind when they spoke of retaining the traditional spiritual

culture of Japan. It all started with the appearance of a few material objects lifted out of Western culture and carried bodily to Japan, but one thing led to another, and eventually there occurred something that can only be described as a spiritual revolution.

The Japanese culture that emerged from the Meiji period was not Western, nor was it purely Japanese. It was instead an integral part of a vast international complex that was and is continually changing. For that matter, there exists no purely national culture—every culture is the result of a long history of interchanges among peoples. This is not to say, of course, that individual peoples or nations do not display certain special cultural traits and tendencies. The Meiji period itself was a spectacular case of cultural transplantation and at the same time a unique Japanese contribution to world history. We propose to study in the following pages the material framework that made Meiji culture possible. We make no apologies for concentrating on ordinary, run-of-the-mill objects, for after all they are involved in every phase of life.

Chapter Two

CLOTHING

1. INTRODUCTION

FROM early times the Japanese, or at least those of the upper classes, had a rich variety of wearing apparel. Silks date back to pre-historic times, and in the Asuka and Nara periods, methods for producing elaborate brocades and twills were imported from China and Korea, along with garments of continental style. In the Heian period, clothing, if not the material from which it was made, was modified in design to the extent that it became quite distinct from that of the continent. Then in the Ashikaga and Muromachi periods, it was enriched by the importation of Chinese satins and damasks, as well as new types of silver and gold brocade. The first coming of the Portuguese and Spanish led to the adoption of certain Western styles by some of the dominant military class, but this innovation exercised only a temporary influence owing to the policy of isolation adopted by the Tokugawa government in the seventeenth century.

The coming of Perry, the opening of the country, and the sudden influx of things Western set off a tremendous change in clothing habits. In particular, traditional military clothing, which had for so long been designed primarily for ceremonial use, was suddenly abandoned in favor of the Western uniform, and as the Meiji government proceeded apace with its program of Westernization, the principle involved in the design of uniforms was applied to work and school clothing. Gradually

Western suits and dresses became a part of Japanese life.

At the same time, however, the change was not universal, nor could it have been, for the household life of the ordinary Japanese resisted Westernization. Most people continued to live in houses with matted floors and no chairs, and in such surroundings traditional Japanese wear was more suitable and comfortable than imported fashions. People developed the habit of wearing Western clothing to work and Japanese clothing at home so that life in this respect was divided into two distinct spheres. This situation persists today, and it is the cause of a number of practical problems, not the least of which is the matter of the household budget.

In the Meiji period people were free for the first time to choose as they pleased from a great variety of clothing, both old and new, and as a consequence the changing fashions of the period were exceedingly complex. The situation was made even more so, of course, by the fact that traditional types of work and old-style working places were in many cases preserved alongside the new.

a. Material for Clothing

During the past court nobles and members of the military class were privileged to select their clothing material from a long and luxurious variety of figured silks, satins, and elaborate brocades, not to speak of cotton and hemp. In the Tokugawa period, the wealthier townspeople, too, though theoretically belonging to the lower classes, proved no less extravagant than the warriors in their quest for fine silk crepes and damasks. But though a few commoners in Edo, Osaka, Kyoto, and the provincial castle towns were able to afford such finery, the great majority of the populace wore cotton or hemp, particularly the latter in summer. In 1643 the government issued a proclamation concerning farmers' clothing which limited local squires to silk pongee, hemp, and cotton, and ordinary farmers to hemp

and cotton. In addition, all were forbidden to use fancy sashes or trimmings. In 1683, farmers along with townspeople were granted the privilege of wearing silks, though not those of the finer varieties, and it appears that the regulations were in other ways relaxed to a certain extent, but there are many records indicating that no change was in fact allowed in rural communities. Even if there had been a change in the regulations, the average farmer living under feudal control and constantly harried by the necessity of supplying his daily needs, would have been unable economically to take advantage of it.

The farmers, who constituted the majority of the population, wore hemp or cotton except on great occasions, such as weddings or funerals, when they sometimes managed cheap silk. In the northeast and other cold areas, where cotton could not be produced, people even wore tough fabrics made from wisteria or *tilia japonica* or treebark taken from nearby forests. In this respect we might observe that the widespread mountain areas of Japan, with their bountiful forests, have served as a source not only of clothing but of many other daily needs for much of the Japanese populace.

With the opening of the country, foreign trade as well as internal transport developed by leaps and bound, and cotton clothing became common even in areas where cotton was not produced. Cheap cotton goods from foreign countries spread to every nook and cranny of the nation. At the same time the limitations on clothing instituted under the feudal system to preserve distinction of status were completely abolished, and even the lowest born was theoretically allowed to choose his own clothing. The appearance of soft new cotton and wool fabrics aroused in farmers who had hitherto been supplying their own needs with hemp or even rougher fabrics an appreciation for warmth and comfort they had not hitherto been privileged to know. This in itself was a tremendous change, and it led to many others.

b. Plant Fabrics

There has never been a pastoral age in Japanese history, and the Japanese have consequently relied mostly on plant fibers for their clothes. From the earliest times, hemp cloth was the most important fabric, and it remained so until the Tokugawa period, when it began to be replaced by cotton. In addition, the Japanese have also employed reeds and rushes, as well as fibers from wisteria, willow, and other plants for clothing material, and rice straw has served as the material for various types of footgear.

(1) Hemp. It is clear from early historical sources that hemp was cultivated throughout Japan as early as the eighth or ninth century, and until the early Tokugawa period it was the principal material used for clothing among the common people. Even in the Meiji period hemp was grown for clothing in the northeast and in mountainous areas in other parts of the country, and it is said that in 1907 in Shimohei County, Iwate Prefecture, the farmers grew so much hemp that it was taxed—that is to say, the planters not only produced their own needs, but enough extra to sell for a taxable profit. The following statistics show the amount of land devoted to hemp at five-year intervals in the Meiji period and the yield therefrom.

CULTIVATION OF HEMP

<i>Year</i>	<i>Area planted</i>	<i>Yield</i>
1887	14,840.4 <i>chō</i>	2,396,856 <i>kan</i>
1892	18,972.5 "	2,745,802 "
1897	22,349.7 "	3,569,159 "
1902	16,891.1 "	2,687,594 "
1907	13,714.1 "	2,596,927 "

1 *chō*=9917.335 sq. meters=2.45 acres.

1 *kan*=3.75 kilograms.

As can be seen from these figures, production of hemp did not materially decrease. This is because while hemp cloth gave way to cotton there was a growing need for hemp to be used in nets for the growing fishing industry, in ropes for the shipping industry, and in various miscellaneous supplies such as mosquito nets and thread for sewing floor mats. In general, hemp for industrial use came to be produced in special areas only, and the ordinary farmer ceased growing it. The *Report on Life in the Meiji Period* (*Meiji Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku*) says that hemp for home use was grown until 1877 in Yamagata County, Hiroshima Prefecture, and until 1882 or 1883 in Shiraishi-machi, Saga Prefecture; Kagamino-machi, Okayama Prefecture; Ōtsu, Shiga Prefecture; Kamikita-mura, Niigata Prefecture; and Tsubata-machi, Ishikawa Prefecture. During the third decade of Meiji, however, the manufacture of hemp clothing fell out of practice all over the country simply because it required from four to eight times as much labor to weave a given amount of cloth from hemp as from cotton, and cotton could now be imported so cheaply that hemp became obsolete. By 1878, we might note the price of imported cotton was as little as half that of Japanese cotton.

(2) Cotton. Cotton, first imported in the Ashikaga period (1333-1573), spread from the cities to the remotest rural communities in the Tokugawa period (1600-1868). The chief centers of production were the provinces of Kawachi (Osaka Prefecture), Yamato (Nara Prefecture), and Settsu (Hyōgo Prefecture). Generally speaking, it could not be grown successfully north of the thirty-fifth parallel, and the northeast was dependent for its supply on Osaka merchants, who transported the cotton in boats by way of the Sea of Japan. The people of the northeast as well as other mountainous areas where cotton could not be grown wove fabrics for the merchants and took their pay in raw cotton, which was known as "exchange cotton." In the mid-nineteenth century, the cotton trade spread throughout the nation, and cotton garments were commonly worn by merchants

and farmers alike. By the beginning of Meiji, there were few remaining localities where cotton cloth had not displaced other fabrics.

After the opening of the country, cotton was imported from foreign nations, and around the beginning of Meiji the amount imported virtually equaled the amount produced domestically. Foreign cotton was much the cheaper—in 1878 the price was a little more than half that of the home product, and its increased availability led to the development of textile mills. In 1867 the Kagoshima Spinning Factory was established in the Shimazu fief in Kyūshū, and in the succeeding few years several similar enterprises, both publicly and privately owned, were established. By 1887 there were 19 textile mills throughout the country, and this figure increased to 74 in 1897 and 118 in 1907. Until around 1893 China was the chief supplier of cotton, but later it was imported from India, Egypt, and the United States.

Thanks to the influx of foreign cotton, local production fell off. Whereas in 1883, the area planted in cotton amounted to 99,389.6 *chō*, by 1890 it had shrunk to 80,151.1 *chō* and by 1897 to 44,444 *chō*. Many areas ceased altogether to produce cotton in the Meiji twenties, some turning instead to silk, which was more profitable. The development of textile factories and the appearance of cheap ready-made cotton goods put an end to the average farmer's need for self-sufficiency on this score. Still, since handmade fabrics were stronger than the new manufactured goods, some farm wives continued to weave cotton cloth for working apparel even in the Taishō period.

(3) Other fabrics. Japan being a very mountainous country, plants and trees growing wild in mountain forests have long supplied many of the needs of Japanese farmers. In particular, such plants as the *tilia japonica*, wisteria, *hibiscus syriacus*, and sedge, along with rushes and reeds, have been used to produce clothing of one sort or another. Also, in areas where rice does not grow well, it was nevertheless often planted for its straw, which was used to make a variety of footwear. Reeds

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and rushes served as the stuffing for sleeping mats in the days when cotton was scarce, and the bark of the *tilia japonica*, which absorbs moisture was often used for outer garments by members of the military class as well as farmers. Wisteria fiber was employed to make clothing over an area comprising most of Japan. The fabrics produced was extremely tough, but was vulnerable to water, and pains were taken to see that it did not get wet. Despite the importance of these various fibers in pre-modern times, they were almost entirely replaced by more modern materials in the Meiji period.

MATERIALS FROM ANIMALS

(1) Sericulture. Sericulture spread in Japan in ancient times, but most of the higher-grade silks were imported from China and used to make clothing for the aristocracy. In the Tokugawa period the principal centers for silkworm raising were Yonezawa in Uzen, Yangawa in Iwashiro, and Ueda in Shinano, and the best silk yarn was made in the provinces of Mutsu, Kōzuke, Kai, Shinano, Mino, and Ōmi. Clothes made from silk were worn by all classes, but Tokugawa shogunate forbade all members of the farming class except village headmen and women to wear them.

Silk production expanded tremendously after the opening of the country in the 1850's, and the merchants of Kōzuke were quick to begin selling to foreign traders. By 1860, however, they had profiteered so on the foreign taste for fine thread that their products began to acquire a bad reputation. At the beginning of the Meiji period the government encouraged manufacture by machine, and in 1870 a man named Hayami Kensō set up a silk mill in the district of Maebashi. This was followed the early 1870's by several similar factories in silk-producing regions. During this period, the relaxation of Tokugawa clothing regulations caused an increase in the domestic demand for silk even in the provinces, and many farmers, who

used it primarily for ceremonial kimonos, began raising silkworms to meet their own needs.

In the Meiji twenties the consumption of silk for clothing surpassed that of cotton and hemp, largely because imported cotton goods were so cheap that many farmers ceased planting cotton and began keeping silkworms instead. Farmers themselves, however, for the most part required heavier fabrics for clothing, and as a rule they produced silk for the market rather than for themselves. Sericulture did not then contribute to the farmer's self-sufficiency, but rather drew him more closely into commercial economy.

(2) Animal skins. Japanese have used the skins or hides of deers, horses, boars, monkeys, dogs, and bears for clothing since early times. As a rule, such materials went primarily into footgear or armor trappings. After the beginning of Meiji, most articles of their sort passed out of existence, but at the same time leather shoes were introduced from abroad, and shoe factories began to appear here and there. Wool was introduced by European in the Ashikaga period and subsequently used by some to make outer garments, cloaks, purses, tobacco pouches, and other articles, but it had little connection with ordinary everyday life until after it was adopted by the military services for uniforms in the Meiji period.

c. Chemical Fabrics

Rayon was first introduced to Japan in 1890, and in Kyoto in 1897 a man named Fuji Hikoshirō succeeded in manufacturing rayon ribbons and cords. This first effort was well received, and the demand gradually increased. Around 1905 rayon imports rose greatly and this stimulated domestic manufacture. At the Nishi-jin weaving district in Kyoto, rayon was first used in making obis in 1900, and at Fukui in 1916 or 1917 it was woven into silk goods intended for export, but the domestic market for rayon remained small during the Meiji period, and

the material did not spread to rural areas.

d. Second-hand Clothes

In the cities second-hand clothes were bought primarily for occasional ceremonial use, but in the rural areas they constituted an important part of the everyday wardrobe. As a general rule, the clothing was purchased from traveling peddlers, although some farmers swapped rice or lentils for it at pawnshops and rag markets (in Sakai and Ichinomiya). In most instances, the clothing was either worn just as it was or converted into work clothing or diapers. Sometimes it was cut up and pieced into quilts, aprons, sashes, and so on. Work clothing patched together like rag rugs was common in winter in various sections, particularly the Northeast, where cotton was not grown. In the second decade of the Meiji period old clothes accounted for ten per cent of all imports from other provinces into the six northeasternmost provinces. In many areas patchwork clothing tended to be abandoned after around 1900, but occasionally it was retained more or less as a handicraft.

2. DYE GOODS

In ancient times most high-quality fabrics were imported from China, but after around the end of the Ashikaga period, excellent materials began to be produced in various provincial districts. Naturally, they were woven and dyed by hand, and the dyes were natural ones obtained from plants and trees.

The most important dye by far was indigo, and in the Edo period each castle town as well as many smaller communities had dyers known as "blueing shops" from the color of indigo. According to *An Investigation of Dyeing in Villages* (*Kyōdo Senshoku ni Kan-suru Chōsa*, 1935), the chief natural dyeing materials in the various provinces were as follows:

II. TYPES OF PLANT DYES

No.	Name	Part	Color	Direct
1	Ai (Indigo)	Leaf	Indigo	Mie, Tokushima Prefecture
2	Akamekashiwa (Oak)	Leaf	Black	Shimane Prefecture (Beginning of Meiji)
3	Ume (Plum tree)	Bark	Brown	Iwate Pref.
4	Ukon (Tumeric plant)	Subterranean stem	Yellow	Okayama Pref. (1892, '93)
5	Entsuzuki	Skin of root	Orange	Akita Pref.
6	Kariyasu	Stem of fruit	Black, blue-brown, yellow	Iwate, Fukushima Pref.
7	Kashiwa (Oak)	Bark	Yellow, brown	Akita, Fukushima, Saitama Pref. (End of Meiji)
8	Kanake	Paddy-field	Black, red-brown	Ibaragi, Okayama
9	Kihada (Wood skin)	Bark	Yellow	Akita, Iwate Pref.
10	Kiri (Paulownia)	Charcoal of Kiri	Light purple	Tottori Pref. (Currently being displaced by chemical dyes.)
11	Hisakaki	Ripe Fruit	Blue-black	Okayama Pref. (1892, '93)
12	Kuchinashi (Cape Jasmine)	Fruit	Yellow, red-brown	Gumma, Saitama (until 1887)
13	Korakushibu (Dialect)	Leaf	Red-brown	Mie, Hyogo, Okayama, Tokushima (1892, '93) Tottori Pref.

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No.	Name	Part	Color	Direct
14	Kurara	Leaf	Yellow, color of pewterwort	Tottori, Okayama Pref.
15	Kuri (Chestnut)	Bark, spine	Black, gray	Akita, Hyogo Pref. (Middle Meiji).
16	Kunugi (<i>Quercus serrata</i>)	Leaf	Blue-black	Ibaragi Pref.
17	Kurumi (Walnut)	Root, trunk, branch, bark, leaf, skin, fruit	Brown, dark grey	Fukushima, Akita, Gumma Pref.
18	Kuroshiha (Black Turf)	Wood, skin	Black	Iwate, Saitama (End of Taisho)
19	Sawanaishi			Mie Pref.
20	Sakura (Cherry Blossom)	Trunk	Light green, saffron	Fukushima Pref.
21	Satsumaimo (Sweet Potato)	Bark	Light brown	Tottori Pref.
22	Shikimi	Stem, leaf	Black	Tokushima Pref.
23	Shakuyaku (herbaceous peony)	Skin	Light green-brown	Hyogo Pref. (1887)
24	Shii	Root	Dark grey	Iwate Pref.
25	Shibito Tsutsuji (Azalea)	Skin	Brown, black	Mie Pref. Hachijojima
26	Shino (Beefsteak plant)	Leaf	Brown	Tokushima Pref.
27	Subō	Leaf	Whitish light	Okayama Pref. (1892, '93)
28	Tsuyukusa	Root, trunk	Red Blue	Iwate, Nagasaki Pref. Akita Pref.

No.	Name	Part	Color	Direct
29	Tsutsuji (Azalea)	Leaf	Yellow	Tokushima Pref.
30	Nasu (Eggplant)	Dried stem	Dark gray	Fukushima Pref.
31	Nara (<i>Quercus glandulifera</i>)		Brown	Saitama, Okayama Pref. (1892, '93)
32	Nekohagi	Leaf	Blue-green	Tokushima Pref.
33	Nobu	Bark	Brown	Tokushima Pref.
34	Naze	Leaf	Black	Tokushima Pref.
35	Han	Barkskin, fruit	Red, brown, blue, Reddish, Brown, Gold brown	Iwate, Fukushima, Tochigi, Gum- ma, Saitama, Ibaragi, Kyoto Pref
36	Hisakaki	Leaf	Purple, red	Tokushima Pref.
37	Nurude (Sumac)	Panticle	Dark gray	Okayama, Tokushima Pref. (1892, '93)
38	Hebinoborazu	Root, skin	Yellow, blue-red	Saitama (Beginning of Taisho) Tochigi, Ibaragi Pref.
39	Benibana	Fruit, petal	Fresh red, red	Iwate, Shimane (1877)
40	Botan (Tree-peony)	Root	Brown	Iwate pref.
41	Borotsutsuji (Azalea)	Leaf	Dark brown	Tokushima pref.
42	Mamegaki (Small persimmon)	Fruit	Tan	Akita Pref.
43	Maki (Chinese black pine)	Bark	Tan	Okayama Pref. (1892, '93)

CLOTHING

No.	Name	Part	Color	Direct
44	Murasaki	Root	Purple	Nagano Pref.
45	Momo (Peach)	Bark	Light green-brown	Tottori Pref.
46	Yamamomo (Wild peach)	Leaf, skin	Yellowish khaki tan, whitish brown	Mie, Tokushima, Ōita Pref.
47	Yashabushi	Fruit	Blue, dark purple, Tan	Fukushima, Tokyo, Nagano Pref.
48	Madami	skin	white	Hachijōjima (peninsula)
49	Kobunagusa	Stem, Leaf, Root	Yellow	Hachijōjima (peninsula)

Japanese indigo was largely replaced after 1885 by indigo of a superior quality imported from India. In 1900 the quantity of the latter imported reached a peak of 1,800,000 *kin*, or approximately 1200 tons. Both Japanese and Indian indigo were soon discarded in favor of chemical dyes, and by the end of Meiji only approximately a tenth as much Japanese land was planted in indigo as in 1902. Natural dyes from sappanwood and safflower were also replaced by artificial dyes in the Meiji thirties.

After around 1890 most people ceased to dye their own cloth and began taking it to professional dyers instead. By the succeeding decade virtually everyone was using pre-dyed fabrics produced by machine.

The adoption of chemical dyes was not as simple as it might sound from the above. Aniline dyes were first used as early as the late Tokugawa period in Kyoto and Kiryū, but apparently the methods for employing them were too easy—there resulted a flood of goods that faded or streaked. Presently the government sent specialists abroad to learn improved methods, and the mayor of Kyoto set up a Chemical Dye Bureau with a German as a technical adviser. The use of artificial dyes, however, proved abortive in various textile centers during the Meiji tens, and it was not until the succeeding decade that there was a material improvement. After 1890, however, dyeing circles began to enjoy a wave of prosperity. In 1891, Ikuta Masuo launched a project to produce chemical dyes in Japan rather than import them from Europe as had hitherto been the practice, and by the end of the Meiji period the chemical dye industry was a going concern.

b. Looms

Looms in use in the late Tokugawa period were still fairly primitive, but around 1873 the Jacquard and Battan looms were introduced from abroad, and these served as the bases for

largescale textile production. Thereafter home weaving was gradually abandoned, and even the farming class began to rely on ready-made goods. To be sure, many farmers' wives continued to weave cloth for their families until the Taishō period, but the overwhelming trend was toward the adoption of manufactured goods.

In 1877 a man named Araki Shōhei succeeded in making a workable imitation of the Jacquard loom, and after the Toby loom was introduced in 1883, an imitation was produced by Kondō Tokutarō.

Foreign high-out looms were put into operation in various textile centers during the years between 1875 and 1885. Then in 1895 or 1896, Toyota Sakichi devised a new loom, named for himself, and this was patented and put into trial operation in 1898.

In sum, home weaving remained common during early Meiji, and to some extent it constituted a secondday occupation for farming families throughout the period, but as farmers ceased to produce their own clothing, looms fell out of use, and the women who had been weaving at them began going outside their villages to find work.

c. New Textiles

In addition to the development of many old weaves, the Meiji period witnessed the appearance of several new ones, notably flannel, calico, muslin, and woollens.

Japanese cotton flannel was first produced in the district of Kii in 1871. It was immediately successful on the market, and production was not even slowed by a depression in the textile field in 1884 and 1885. Production was also begun in Ehime, Yamaguchi, Osaka, and Kyoto Prefectures during this interval, and in 1888 the industry was bolstered by the beginning of exports of the material to China. Flannel was widely adopted in Japan for use in undershirts.

Calico was imported in the early Meiji, and despite its low quality, it was widely adopted for use in summer underwear. Imports in Yokohama reached a peak in 1882 but then fell off sharply because Japanese textile makers had begun buying foreign thread and bleaching it. Thanks to technical improvements and to increased importation of bleach, the cost of bleaching a 12 feet length of material fell from 16 *sen* in 1879 and 1880 to 2 *sen* in 1883 and 1884. Purchases of calico are often recorded in household account books kept by families in rural districts in this period.

Muslin was imported in the late Tokugawa and quickly found favor in the cities because of its fresh colors and softness. By 1880 the total amount cost of muslin imported amounted to between two and three hundred thousand yen. Attempts were made as early as 1877 to imitate printed muslin, but without success. By around 1885, however, printed muslins were being produced in the Osaka in sufficient quantity to drive out imported goods almost completely.

3. CLOTHING STYLES

a. Clothing Regulations

In general, clothing styles were regulated by the Tokugawa government in such a way as to make an individual's social status evident from his apparel. Early in the Meiji period, the various regulations were abandoned, but in so far as clothing was related to everyday work, it was not quick to change. In the other hand, ceremonial clothing began to show the influence of the new age almost immediately.

The earliest type of traditional weaving apparel to give way was that of the warrior class, which is exactly what one would expect since this class was the first actually to lose its former status. To a large degree, the clothing of warriors had been designed for ceremonial use and with an eye toward preserving the dignity of the wearers' status, and it was not necessarily

suitable for practical use in the first place. Many of the poorer samurai must have worn very ordinary clothing most of the time and experienced considerable difficulty in maintaining the required dress on ceremonial occasions. In 1862, the shogunate simplified the requirements for formal dress, and this no doubt indicates that it had already become impossible to enforce the regulations.

It is recorded that as early as 1861 a few persons were secretly weaving Western-style clothes, despite regulations forbidding it, and in 1866 warriors in training, who had been issued what were called "Western-style tubular sleeves and camp breeches"—*i. e.*, jackets and trousers—were allowed to wear these even when not in training. In the eleventh month of the same year, Western outfits with *haori* were authorized throughout the army and navy. By this time a few court nobles in Kyoto were appearing in Western suits, and at the time of the shogunate's collapse official clothing was in a state of confusion.

In the sixth month of 1868, the Meiji government acting in the name of the emperor solicited opinions concerning proper clothing for courtiers and officials, and in the same year formal outfits based on old Chinese style were abandoned in favor of simpler Japanese styles. This however, was only the beginning. In the eighth month of 1871, the houses of Yamashina and Takakura, which had traditionally had charge of the imperial wardrobe, were dismissed from palace service and on the twelfth day of the eleventh month of 1872, Western-style dress was ordained for both ordinary and special ceremonial occasions, though those who had not yet obtained the new apparel were permitted to continue wearing Japanese-style clothing for a time.

The above applies, we should add, only to men's clothing, but women's ceremonial dress though not given up for Western styles, was also simplified in this period. By 1884 or 1885, when it was the fashion among the upper classes to give dance parties, charity balls, masquerades, and other types of parties imitated from the West, society women began wearing

Occidental dresses. In January, 1887, the empress published a written opinion on women's clothing, which ran in part as follows:

The modern Western outfit for women consists of an upper and a lower garment and is therefore in accordance with the ancient Japanese system of dress. Furthermore, it is suitable for ceremonial use and is convenient in that it allows freedom of movement. It is therefore most proper that the Western method of sewing is being imitated. In improving our dress, however, we should be careful to use materials made in our own country. If we make good use of Japanese products, we shall assist in the improvement of manufacture, aid in the advancement of art and beauty, and add to the profits of commerce. The benefits will not in other words be confined to the field of clothing.

In changing from the old to the new, the great problem is that of avoiding unnecessary expense, and everyone should be careful to do his part in maintaining simplicity and guarding against costly luxuries.....

(*Chōya Newspaper*, January 19, 1887)

The empress based her arguments against the old style on the fact that long one-piece kimonos were inconvenient and that the wide women's obi was unsuited to the human body. Though she was careful to direct an economic warning at the fine ladies who had begun to wear expensive Western-style evening dresses and the like, her championing of Occidental clothing no doubt contributed much to its adoption by Japanese women.

(2) New Uniforms. The swords and the peculiar hair-do that had distinguished the samurai class in the Tokugawa period were abolished early in Meiji, and though one may be certain that the old deference to status was preserved in one form or another, the fact that status could no longer be determined at a glance and that it could be ignored with impunity even when recognized represented a revolutionary change. At the same time, many classes of people, such as military men, policemen,

railway employees, and postman, began to wear Western-style uniforms which, if they did not distinguish social rank, at least indicated, employment or function. When somewhat later schools adopted uniforms, there ceased to be many people who did not at one time or the other have the experience of wearing Western dress indicating their status.

Uniforms for the military services, on which rank and organization were indicated, were adopted in 1870, at around the time when the uniform dress of chancellors was fixed. Policemen and postmen were put in uniform in the following year, and railway employees in 1872. The dress for legal officials was regulated in 1875, and that for lawyers in 1893, but since such uniforms were worn only in court, they were unfamiliar to the average individual. In any event, all these form of uniform dress indicated the rank and station of the wearers and in one sense served as badges of identification. Very likely they made human relations smoother in this period of increased intercourse among people of all sorts. The value placed on clothing as an indication of social status is indicated by the fact that quite a large number of merchants clothed themselves in uniforms resembling those of military or civil officials in order to establish confidence in themselves among their prospective customers. Certainly uniforms fostered the development of a new type of class consciousness, and to this extent contributed to the desire of individuals to better their status. With the spread of government enterprises, uniforms became more and more common, and they were often adopted even in private business.

Women did not as a rule wear uniforms to the extent that men did, but girl students, employees of textile mills, and nurses generally were required to wear them. As early as 1873 women employed in a textile factory in Kōfu were issued uniform dress, and the practice was later adopted by other similar businesses. Girls who worked in such places usually came straight from their homes and intended to quit work as soon

as they married, and companies found it expedient to issue them uniform work clothes.

Western-style uniforms were not as yet employed by girls' schools, and the usual practice was to have the students wear *hakama* of the same color occasionally trimmed with the school colors. In general, school uniforms evidenced an attempt to render the ordinary women's dress more suitable for movement, but there was no hasty move toward adopting Western dresses.

Ono Hana, who was born in Tokyo in 1872, says that when she attended primary school in Nihombashi, both boys and girls were still dressed in ordinary kimonos with wide sleeves, and boys still wore a distinctive traditional hair-do that their mothers had to prepare for them each morning. It was not long, however, before the boys began appearing with cropped hair, and wide sleeves were soon exchanged all over the country for narrow ones.

When Ono Hana went to work as a school teacher in Fukushima Prefecture in 1880, she was not allowed to wear a *hakama*, but in the Meiji twenties women teachers and students alike adopted the *hakama* for school wear. The advantage of the *hakama* was that it relieve women of the necessity of wearing an uncomfortable wide obi.

Uniforms for women were usually adopted for the purpose of making their work easier and, it should not be forgotten, to keep them from trying to outdress each other. Since, however, most women had no intention of pursuing careers for any length of time, these uniforms had little connection with changes in ordinary clothing for women.

The various school and work uniforms increased the individual's sense of belong to a group and therefore constituted a restraint on individual freedom of conduct. The widespread adoption of uniforms no doubt had an important influence on Japanese life as a whole.

b. Traditional and Western Clothing

As mentioned above, the officials of the central government were the first people to take up Western clothing. They were followed by provincial officials, school teachers, policemen, doctors, and other members of new professions, not to speak of members of the armed services. Generally speaking, people working in new factories were also relatively quick to take up Western styles, because of their suitability for work. Those engaged in traditional occupations, on the other hand, tended to cling to traditional dress.

In speaking of traditional dress, however, it is necessary to distinguish between the dress of various classes. Members of the upper class, merchants, and townspeople for the larger part were accustomed to wearing kimonos of one sort or another. Though luxurious materials were banned from time to time by the Tokugawa shogunate, residents of the cities, even commoners, often managed to clothe themselves in silk. At the same time, kimonos were by no means as colorful in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods as they later became. The real emancipation from the Tokugawa restrictions became evident around 1900, when fine new silks and bright colors became the rage. It should not be forgotten, however, that they were the rage only among a fairly limited group of people with means. The average townsman was permitted by law to wear any sort of finery, but in fact he could not usually afford to. The freedom of the new period, then, in one sense simply emphasized the difference between the rich and the poor.

The agricultural populace, for its part, had never been accustomed to wearing what is generally thought of as traditional Japanese clothing in the first place. To be sure, farmers dressed in kimonos sometimes—even silk kimonos on special occasions—and wore similar, though much simpler, garments when not at work, but for the most part they clothed themselves in work

clothes consisting principally of a jacket and trousers. This two-piece outfit presented an almost infinite number of local variations, but in one form or another it was employed throughout the country. It was slow to give way to new styles, simply because it was suited to farm work, but at the same time it had many features in common with Western-style work clothes, and for this reason the latter gradually spread in rural areas. Men returning to farm life from the army or navy often continued to wear Western sweat shirts or articles of that sort.

Western-style underwear for men, incidentally, was adopted at a relatively early date. Undershirts and drawers made of muslin and flannel were in wide use in the cities by 1873 or 1874. In the country, however, men tended to retain the traditional loincloth instead of adopting underpants. Women, for their part, did not begin to wear bloomers until the Rokumeikan period, that is to say the mid-eighties, and they were not extremely common until the 1920's.

It should be kept in mind that when we say Western clothing was adopted, we do not mean that people suddenly began wearing the latest Parisian fashions. For many years curious, and often comical, combinations of Western and Japanese dress were rather the rule. An advertisement for a tailor in Kayabachō, Tokyo, in the early Meiji read as follows:

What funny Western outfits people wear! Men with Prussian caps, French shoes, English naval jackets, and American military dress trousers—a little from this country and a little from that.

It was not at all uncommon, for instance, for men to wear shoes with kimonos or *geta* with Western suits, and men occasionally wore their traditional swords with Western dress. In the 1890's however, a general reaction against over-Westernization led to a sort of purist approach to Japanese clothing, and when people dressed in kimonos they tended to wear or carry Japanese accessories.

Women's fashions were constantly changing, and there were

too many modifications in traditional kimono styles to enumerate here. We might observe two important developments, however. One was the fact that whereas matrons had formerly tied their obis in the front, this practice was abandoned, and by the end of Meiji obis were almost invariably tied in the back, even in rural districts. The other change was that the old practice of throwing the collar of the kimono back, so as to leave the back of the neck exposed and protect the kimono from greasy Japanese-style hair-dos, was to a great extent abandoned. In general, women's kimonos and the prevailing manner of wearing them tended to become simpler and more suited to action than in the previous period.

c. New Methods of Sewing

In the Meiji period virtually every Japanese woman could still sew her own kimonos, whether or not she was an expert seamstress. Young girls usually began to learn sewing from their mothers and sisters between the ages of six and twelve, and often they later studied under sewing teachers. Sewing schools were first established in the Meiji twenties or thirties.

The first sewing machine to appear in Japan appears to have been brought from the United States in 1860 by the interpreter Manjirō, who accompanied a Japanese diplomatic mission to that country. The use of the sewing machine, however, was not mastered until somewhat later. The following appeared in the *Chūgai Newspaper* in 1868:

Though a most ingenious Western machine for sewing was introduced some time ago, until recently no one has been trained to use it. Consequently, in accordance with an official command, I have received training from a foreigner in Yokohama and have begun to give lessons in the use of the machine. I hope that those who are interested will call at my establishment. While giving lessons, I will make any sort of clothing on order at a low price.....

(Endo Shinsaburō.)

In 1871 a sewing machine was exhibited in Asakusa, in Tokyo, and the hall was filled with spectators. During the same year the Hokkaidō Development Bureau solicited applicants to study the use of the sewing machine and made arrangements to send graduates of the course to Hokkaidō. Around the same time the Keiō School (now Keiō University) set up a tailor's office to make school uniforms for its students at especially low rates. In the *Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper* for the ninth day of the tenth month of 1872, a foreign woman living in the settlement in Tsukiji advertised an offer of lessons in Western sewing at two yen per month, three hours per day. Ono Hana relates that after 1878, when her father died, her mother worked for a while in a printing factory, but then bought a Fuji Sewing Machine and began sewing umbrella covers, geta strap-coverings, and other items to support her family. It appears that quite a few families in Tokyo were engaged in such work.

Western-style tailors wore kimonos and presented very much the same physical appearance as those specializing in Japanese style. Among them, however, there were occasional imposters who put together outlandish costumes. By 1882 the Ginza boasted several large clothing stores, including one or two with foreign employees. The spread of the school system led to the adoption of Western suits by teachers, and Western styles also became more and more popular in other professions. In 1878 the naval academy set up a sewing shop to make all uniforms for its students. During the Meiji twenties Western-style clothing stores appeared in most of the smaller cities. They dealt, we might note, almost exclusively in men's wear.

Western dresses became popular among women students around 1885, just after the establishment of the Ladies' Society for Western Hair dressing. In 1886, on the occasion of the celebration of the emperor's birthday at the Rokumei-kan, all women present, even those belonging to the imperial family, wore Western clothing.

The following announcement was published by the Shirokiya Clothing Store in the *Tokyo Nichinichi* for November 7, 1886:

Not many days have passed since our store opened, but we have been favored by the special devotion of great and honorable people. We have respectfully received continual orders from the imperial family and prominent gentlemen. We are so busy that despite our supervising and encouraging our workers day and night, we must apologize for not having so far been able to do all the things we wish to do. We consider this most regrettable.

At this time we wish to announce that we have employed Mrs. Vaughn Curtiss, who is famous in England as an expert in the sewing of women's dresses, along with several other foreigners, and we shall henceforth accept orders not only for dress clothes and dancing dresses, but for all sorts of women's apparel, which we will tailor without the slightest mistake.

In 1887 the empress's dictum on Western clothing was issued, and women's dresses became more popular overnight. Sewing schools were opened in several districts in Osaka, and the Mitsui Clothing Store (now Mitsukoshi) engaged a French couturier. In the third decade of Meiji, women's Western-style dresses were so common that they were to be seen hanging in second-hand clothing shops. After 1897, however, there was a noticeable reaction against the extreme Westernization of the previous years.

Sewing machines were not employed to any extent in school sewing classes during Meiji, but a few special professional schools used them. In particular, we might note the establishment Singer Sewing School in September, 1907, just six years after the Singer Sewing Machine was first imported. Sewing machines, though introduced in Meiji, did not spread on a large scale until after World War II.

(c) Knitting. Certain types of knitting were known in Japan in early times and still practiced to some extent in the Meiji

period, but the usual modern methods of knitting yarn were introduced in the modern age. In 1871, an American lady living in the foreign settlement in Yokohama opened a school for girls in which she taught language, knitting, crocheting, and embroidering, and the lady mentioned above, who was teaching sewing in Tsukiji in 1872, also taught knitting and crocheting. In 1873, an advertisement for a Japanese-operated sewing and knitting company in Tsukiji appeared in the *Nichi-nichi Newspaper*.

Woolen yarn was first produced in Japan in 1879 by the government-owned weaving mill in Senjū and in 1880 by a private firm called Gotō Woolens. By 1886 knitted goods were enjoying a great boom in the cities. In the following year the Tokyo Woolen Spinning Company, which imported its raw materials directly from Australia, was established by Kawasaki Hachirōemon, and in the following year a similar concern was founded in Osaka. To judge from the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period*, knitting or knitted goods were introduced to a few rural areas as early as 1878 or 1879, but not widely used in most provinces until the Meiji twenties.

In 1886 Sasaki Toshiko organized a women's knitting club in a Christian church in Nihombashi, and similar societies soon sprang up in other cities. Most women learned knitting or crocheting either at school or from missionaries, but others were taught by ladies of the upper class, priests' wives, or friends. The usual articles produced were gloves, shawls, caps, socks, stomach wrappers, and such like.

4. HEADGEAR AND FOOTGEAR

a. Hats

Hats were first introduced to Japan by the early European traders, and for a time they became fashionable among the warrior class, but after the closing of the country they were

soon forgotten. A Japanese book on Western ways published in 1867 listed three types of hats, high hats, bowlers, and caps, and pointed out that high hats were for persons of high ranks, while bowlers were for less important persons, and caps for ordinary people. In the early Meiji period a demand for hats was created by the new practice of cutting the hair short, and when the topknots of the previous period were actually forbidden, there was such a rush on hats that the price in various areas increased by leaps and bounds. Matsumoto Shigetarō, relates in his autobiography how, on a trip to Kōbe he got wind of the fact that the anti-topknot order was about to be carried out in Kyoto and went all the way to Nagasaki to buy up hats, which he later presumably sold at a great profit in Kyoto. Caps became part of the uniform soldiers, sailors, policemen, railway employees, and mail carriers, not to speak of persons employed in miscellaneous other occupations. The silk hat, however, was suited only to formal Western clothing and was rarely seen. Bowlers and Hombergs were favored by ordinary people, and by the mid-1890's they were in use all over the country, primarily, among officials, teachers, doctors, and members of the upper class. Hunting caps were adopted by many merchants in the Meiji twenties.

A Yokohama official named Kawadaya Gorō, who lived in the village Ōmori, Ebara County, Tokyo, designed and began producing straw hats, no doubt based on hats he had seen foreigners wearing in Yokohama. In 1879 he improved his methods of bleaching the straw and in 1884 and 1885 New York buyers purchased Japanese straw hats in quantity. Domestic demand was so great that hats were even made out of the cheapest types of straw. Around the summer of 1883 straw hats for children and young people came into common use among students and the children of the upper classes.

The Napoleon hat was popular for a time among officials, but around 1902, when postmen began to wear it, it fell out of ordinary use. Summer hats, particularly the Panama, were in

style after the early 1890's.

Western-style hats in general came into wide use around 1877 in the cities and 1905 in the provinces. Traditional hats, notably the large straw "umbrella-hat," continued to be used in rural areas, but fell out of favor in the cities largely because they were inconvenient in crowds.

b. Footgear

(1) Traditional footgear. At the end of the Tokugawa period the principal footgear was the straw sandal (*zōri*) in one of a wide variety of forms. Raised wooden clogs (*geta*) were also in ordinary use, but were not so common as today. A number of districts specialized in the manufacture of both *zōri* and *geta*, but farmers usually produced their own until the late Meiji period or even later.

Both *zōri* and *geta* consist of a sole to which are attached thongs. The latter are V-shaped, with the point between the great and second toe. Socks (*tabi*) designed to wear with them are divided at the same place, so that the great toe is separate from the other toes. Customs with respect to *tabi* varied from place to place in the Meiji period. In some areas they were worn most of the time, while in others they were rarely used except in winter or on special occasions. Until the first part of Meiji *tabi* were usually tied in the back, but afterwards they were furnished with metal catches.

In some areas, notably the northeast, a type of *tabi* with thick cotton soles was devised for wear without *geta* or *zōri*. Such *tabi*, which were in many ways similar to shoes, were adopted in the Meiji twenties and thirties by many workmen and coolies. The cotton soles were replaced for a time by leather, and then around 1906 by rubber, which rapidly became standard. Rubber-soled *tabi* are still extremely common among day-laborers today.

(2) Shoes. In pre-modern Japan, shoes or boots were never

worn by anyone but the upper classes and a few tradespeople, notably fishmongers. Western shoes were first adopted when the traditional military methods gave way to those of the West. After 1866, when Western coats and trousers were authorized for the shogunate's new military personnel, shoes and leather goods were actively imported from abroad. What with a steadily increasing demand, the need for domestic shoe manufacture was felt, and in 1870 a man named Nishimura Katsuzō erected a shoe factory in Tsukiji and hired a Chinese named Fan Kao from Yokohama to teach shoemaking to his employees. In 1872 the most advanced pupils were singled out and sent to branch shops in Sakura and Kawagoe to make shoes for the armed forces. In 1871 a man named Dan Naoki, with assistance from a few high officials, set up a shoe factory in Wakayama, and began turning out more than 10,000 pairs of shoes per month. Westerners complained, however, that although Japanese shoes looked like shoes, they did not feel like them, and in fact it appears that the shoes produced were prone to give way at the heels. Chinese shoemakers in Yokohama and Tokyo enjoyed a better reputation than their Japanese competitors. In any event around 1872 palanquin-bearers in Western dress and swords in their sashes and women with shortcropped hair and large black umbrellas lost their place as emblems of the enlightenment to people dressed in kimonos and shoes.

The spread of shoes was due primarily to the growth of the armed services, and most people from remote farming or fishing villages first wore the new footgear when they were conscripted into the army. Accordingly, the Satsuma Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese war greatly promoted the adoption of shoes, and by the late 1890's they were in quite general use. They first spread to provincial areas in the early 1880's when like so many other Western articles they were adopted by teachers, officials, policemen, doctors, and army veterans, and in the Meiji twenties they began to find a place in ordinary households. Even in the Meiji thirties, however, there were relatively few

shoe shops outside the large cities, and country people had not only to obtain their shoes from the latter but to send them back when they needed repair, unless an itinerant cobbler happened to wander through their village. It was so difficult to have shoes repaired that many country people cared for them as though they were sensitive plants and never wore them except on very special occasions.

Rubber shoes and boots were imported and imitated, and by the late Meiji period manufactures producing them had filled the Japanese demand and begun exporting to foreign countries.

Shoes were fine for people working in Western-style buildings where they did not have to be removed upon entering, but for people who worked in Japanese-style buildings, they were too much trouble to serve as ordinary footgear. Furthermore, in the days before paved roads and sidewalks, people hesitated to wear such expensive footgear, since it would soon be ruined by exposure to water and mud. Country people bought shoes, but did not use them as the basic footgear, and even what we might call the shoe-wearing classes kept *gata* or *zōri* on hand for use when needed.

5. COSMETICS AND COIFFURE

a. Attitudes toward Cosmetics

Yamakawa Kikue in her *Women of the Warrior Class* (*Buke no Josei*) mentioned that her mother, who belonged to a Mito samurai family, never allowed a single hair on her head to be out of place. "She looked," wrote Madame Yamakawa, "almost as though she were wearing a wig—her coiffure appeared to have been licked smooth—and until her dying day she never appeared without liprouge and thick powder."

Such were the rigid customs of the samurai class. The warrior's wife, no less than her husband, took the tenseness of the battlefield as her standard for everyday living; she never

relaxed, certainly not to the extent of allowing herself to appear untidy in the slightest. After two hundred and sixty-years of strict feudal regulations, the members of the warrior class were able to appear so emotionless that their faces seemed like masks to the foreigners who came into contact with them in the late Tokugawa period. To some extent this was a technique of selfpreservation, and the stiff, uncomfortable make-up was an integral part of the device.

Madame Yamakawa makes it clear that men of this class were no less fastidious about their coiffure than women. According to her description, the hair of their topknot was pulled so tight and plastered so firmly with grease that it could not be undone without considerable difficulty. As a group, the samurai and their women trained themselves to be prepared to meet any eventuality without revealing the slightest sign of anger, hate, pity, or joy, and personal adornment was part of the pose. The strict make-up of the upper class no doubt had a certain influence on the customs of the people as a whole, but it is interesting to note that in the late Tokugawa period there was a tendency among townspeople to value more natural types of make-up. Slightly unkempt hair and thinly applied powder became rather fashionable among commoners in Edo and Osaka.

This was a portent of things to come, for in the Meiji period the old forms of make-up were virtually all either abandoned or drastically modified. The old feminine practices of blackening the teeth and shaving off the eyebrows were both frowned upon by the Meiji government in its early years, and in 1873, the empress herself appeared in public with white teeth and eyebrows. The emperor, for his part had his hair cut in the Western style during the same year. Gradually, the heavy lead-based powder that women had formerly daubed on all visible portions of their skin gave way to a light Western-style powder, and thick hair grease to pomade or light hair oils. Soap and toilet water took the place of the various materials that had gone into the making of the mask, and emphasis came

to be placed on the beauty of health rather than that of artifice.

b. Men's Hair Styles

Prior to the Meiji period the most common male coiffure was the *Honda-mage*, usually called *chom'mage*. This was made by shaving most of the top of the head, pulling all the hair together and tying it at the back of the head, and folding the resulting queue forward over the shaven crown. The hair was stiffened and anchored with heavy pomade. The principal nuisance was that the crown and forehead had to be shaven clean every two or three days, and this was enough to make a fair member of people willing to give up the fashion of their own accord in the early Meiji, but when the government came out against the *chom'mage*, the old style suddenly found its champions. In Kumamoto, a group of diehards referred to at the time as *kamikaze* actually revolted because of the government's attempts to promote haircuts, but this disturbance could have had little to do with the relative merits of the *chom'mage* as a coiffure, since it had so few. The objections all in all were of a political nature, and after it became clear that the Meiji government's policy of Westernization was here to stay, most men quieted down and accepted one or another of several Western-inspired hair styles. The feeling against the Western modes, however, was no joking matter while it lasted. When Itō Hirobumi decided to board a foreign ship going to England he first cut off his *chom'mage* and then persuaded the captain to let him aboard on the grounds that if he stayed in Japan with his hair cut he would be assassinated by anti-foreign samurai. The captain had little choice, since Itō threatened to commit suicide on the spot rather than return and be murdered.

Nevertheless, in 1868 troops in the new armies of Satsuma and Chōshū were deprived of their *chom'mage*, and by 1870 there were Westernstyle barber shops all over Tokyo. By 1871 even women were beginning to crop their hair, but this aroused

so much criticism that the government prohibited it.

The government official position, stated in 1871, was that men's hair might be dressed according to individual tastes, but this meant in effect that the government intended to do away with the hitherto ordained *chom'mage*. In the cities, Western haircuts were almost immediately accepted, but it is said that a rush for hats in this year was caused primarily by a general desire to hide them. At any rate, in 1872 there were 3,000 barber shops in Tokyo, and it was estimated that almost all of the men in the city of Kyoto and Aichi Prefectures, as well as eighty or ninety per cent of those in Shiga Prefecture, had cut their *chom'mage* off. In this and the succeeding few years a number of prefectural governments actually ordered the adoption of new hair styles. Even in districts where such drastic measures were not taken, local officials outdid themselves promoting new hair styles. In Nagasaki Prefecture, it was argued that haircuts protected the brain, and in Iwaki Prefecture people were urged to cut their hair so as not to be laughed at by foreigners. Wakamatsu Prefecture simply put a tax of 50 *sen* annually on anyone who dressed his hair in the old style. In Osaka and Yamanashi Prefectures, on the other hand, new-style barber shops were exempted from local taxes whereas the old-style ones were not.

Still there are stories of village mothers who were ashamed to face the neighbors when their sons came back from the cities with no *chom'mage*, and prospective bridegrooms are reported to have been refused because they cut their hair. Even in Tokyo the new styles were not universally accepted for more than ten years, and one may be sure that they were slower to find acceptance in the provinces. In any event, however, military men, officials, teachers, and policemen in all districts were quick to cut their hair.

c. Women's Hair Styles

At some fairly early date, long hair came to be considered beautiful, and as can be seen from Heian-period picture scrolls women of the upper classes let their hair hang virtually to the ground. In the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods, however, the hair was pinned up on the top of the head, and this custom persisted in the Tokugawa period. At the beginning of the latter there were only about ten fixed hair styles, but by late Tokugawa times there were some 270, though of course most of them were to be seen only in the great cities.

The common features of these hair styles were that they were held together with heavy grease, and that they involved a good deal of trouble and discomfort. In the early Meiji, as we have seen, a number of women cut their hair short after the new fashion for men, only to be told by the government that this was going too far. In the 1880's, however, a movement to relieve women of the burden of old hair styles gained considerable support, and in the summer of 1885, the Ladies' Society for Foreign Hair Styles was formed. It published the following statement:

The purpose of founding this society is to promote the health, wealth, and convenience of Japanese womanhood. The *Shimada*, *marumage*, and other traditional hair styles involve the use of many pins and ornaments, and they are unhealthy because they often cause dizzy spells and the rushing of blood to the head. This society wishes to do away with these evil styles of the past. Women who support this movement will contribute not only to the renovation of custom but to the economic and medical wellbeing of Japanese womanhood.... Even at present the wives of great gentlemen, the daughters of wealthy families, and the famous beauties of the geisha districts have in many cases adopted the new styles. This is to their own

benefit and is in keeping with the advance of enlightenment and the increase of wisdom in the present age. Still there remain old-fashioned people who call us tomboys or hussies. Let no one be deterred by them, for they are simply envious of our new styles and manners.

The society publicized Western hair styles that it considered compatible with Japanese customs and urged women to adopt the good features of both Western and Japanese traditions.

New hair styles were soon popular among young women and school teachers, and eventually they spread among entertainers, waitresses, and prostitutes. After 1890, a wave of reaction against Westernization set in, and old hair styles came back into fashion for a time, but after 1897 the trend even in the provinces was toward pompadours and other Western coiffures. Still, traditional hair styles were retained by some, and women commonly employ them today during the New Year season and on festive occasions, though most old-style coiffures one sees nowadays are wigs.

The huge assortment of combs, pins, and bodkins used by Tokugawa period women to ornament their coiffures tended to give way to ribbons and artificial flowers, and the heavy, expensive materials from which the old ornaments were made were often replaced by celluloid. After 1900, the ribbon was at all odds the principal hair ornament, even with traditional coiffures.

6. ACCESSORIES

a. Gloves

Gloves were introduced to Japan by Europeans in the sixteenth century. In the Tenshō period (1573-1591), when the Christian daimyōs of Kyūshū, Arima, Ōmura, and Ōtomo sent three youths on an embassy to the Pope, the boys were given gloves as presents at the University of Ankara. By the early eighteenth century gloves were among the famous products of

Nagasaki. They were used only by a limited number of people even in the cities, but in the late Tokugawa they were adopted by the men practicing and training with cannons to keep the latter from rusting when touched, and a number of lower-class samurai families began to make them as a means of picking up a little extra money. The gloves were sold to dry goods merchants in Edo, from whom they were purchased by the aforesaid cannoneers and a handful of students of Dutch medicine, but by barely anyone else.

In 1871 Nishimura Shōzō, who established the first shoe factory in Japan, also decided to make gloves, and to this end he imported machinery from America and set up a shop in one part of his shoe factory. The gloves produced were worn by officials and others who made a practice of dressing in the Western style. Edward Morse recalled, for example, having seen an official in a high hat that would have come down over his eyes had it not been stuffed with paper and Japanese cotton gloves that were several sizes too big. Gloves spread to the countryside together with Western dress and were worn principally by teachers, village officials, policemen, doctors, and rich people.

The first women's gloves appeared during the Rokumei-kan period, when they were considered an indispensable accessory for well-dress ladies of the upper class. In 1904 and 1905 long gloves with glass beads on the backs of the hands were in fashion. They were generally the products of side labor, and the producers received about 6 *sen* for the dozen or so they produced a day. In the Meiji thirties and forties fingerless gloves, also trimmed with glass beads, came into fashion. Mori Ōgai, in his "Wild Goose," mentions buying a pair for his maid to keep her hands warm, only to find that she would not wear them because they were too much trouble to take on and off while at work. In general, gloves were more popular among young women than among the older ones. Knitted gloves for children usually had no fingers.

Hand-knitted gloves spread to rural areas around the end of the Meiji period and virtually replaced the old-style *tekō*, which covered only the backs of the hands. The latter were intended to protect the hands from insects and scratches while working, whereas gloves were intended either to protect them from cold or simply to adorn them, and some people used both *tekō* and gloves, dependent upon the occasion. Work gloves were not widely used until after the end of Meiji.

b. Pocket Watches

Western timepieces were not unknown in the Tokugawa period, but the pocket watch was first introduced as a gift from Commodore Perry to the shōgun. An article on Yokohama, written in 1862, mentions that Westerners were always consulting little round silver timepieces, which sold for around 5 *ryō* apiece. After around 1869, the traditional system of counting the hours began to give way to the Western system, and a fair number of Japanese began to use Western watches. Kanagaki Robun's *Aguranabe* contains a passage about a man infatuated with Western styles who managed to raise the money to buy a cheap Western pocket watch and thenceforth contrived to show it around to people at a restaurant. After 1872 cheap pocket watches were fairly common among students.

A note in the *Shimbun Zasshi* (*Newspaper Journal*) for the twelfth month of 1871 states that while no one in Nara was yet wearing Western suits, two officials owned pocket watches, and it appears therefore that watches were already spreading to the provinces. In 1874 the *Nichinichi Newspaper* noted that pocket watches were the rage among officials in Gifu Prefecture.

All watches were still imported from the West, the number imported being 33,169, in 1886 and 530,000 in 1898. Around 1902 a switch from pocket watches to wrist watches began, and by the end of Meiji virtually every man who wore Western suits also wore a wrist watch.

c. Umbrellas and Raincoats

Traditional Japanese umbrellas are made of bamboo and covered with oil paper. The cloth-covered model to enter the country was apparently brought by someone in Commodore Perry's fleet. Before the end of the Tokugawa period Western-style umbrellas, almost invariably black in color, were in relatively common use, although it is said that members of the samurai class were afraid to carry them lest they be assassinated by members of the anti-foreign faction. In 1871 a sum of no less than ¥ 410,000 was paid for imported umbrellas. The price of a good umbrella was probably a little more than a yen at that time.

Among Western items umbrellas were particularly quick to spread, partly because they were more convenient than the bulky paper umbrellas of earlier times and partly because they served as a conspicuous sign of "enlightenment."

In the Rokumei-kan period ladies began carrying long-stemmed, narrow-topped parasols that were practically worthless in a shower, and in the Meiji thirties a variety of fancy parasols were fashionable at one time or another among the female population.

The traditional raincoat was a thick straw cape called a *mino* and worn since ancient times all over the country. The *mino*, which shed water well and allowed much freedom of movement, is still sometimes used by farmers, fishermen, and railway maintenance men but it is entirely too bulky for modern urban use. Instead people switched to an all-purpose coat called a *kappa*. The *kappa* had first been introduced from the West by Europeans during the sixteenth century. In its earliest form it was simply a cloth cape, but in the Tokugawa period it was fitted with sleeves so that it came to resemble a modern overcoat. It was worn as a protection from cold as well as rain. A special form, called a *tombi*, which was more or less a woolen

version of a *mino*, plus sleeves, began to be very popular around 1870 among both men and women. The *tombi* though modified in form from time to time remained in common use throughout Meiji. In the closing years of the period Western-style overcoats were added to many wardrobes.

d. Rings

In Saitō Ryokuu's memoirs there is a passage which states; "A certain store advertisement says, 'Rings are the price labels of people.' Truly rings are price labels; they are the price labels of men." Thus it appears that the glint of a gold ring carried a good deal of weight in the Meiji period. In Ozaki Kōyō's very popular novel *The Gold Demon*, published in 1897, considerable prominence is given to a diamond ring, and the success of the book led to a great vogue for rings in general.

Rings are said to have been introduced from China in the first half of the Tokugawa period. As early as 1873 the *Shimbun Zasshi* reported that gold and silver rings were remarkably numerous in Tokyo, and it appears that many of them belonged to men.

e. Walking Canes

Prior to Meiji, walking sticks were used only by old or infirm people and those whose business often carried them to the mountains. If a young man appeared with one, people generally thought he was sick. In woodblock prints of the early Meiji period, however, one sees not only foreigners but many young and able-bodied men with sticks. Apparently they had come to be regarded as a mark of enlightenment, and very likely they were unconsciously carried as a substitute for the traditional sword.

During the heyday of the popular rights movement, many

political thugs carried canes in which were concealed swords or daggers, and to judge from Mori Ōgai's *Vita Sexualis*, even students, or at least those in the Tokyo School of English, all carried canes. In the Meiji thirties canes were fairly common even in the provinces, particularly among officials, teachers, and other members of the intellectual class.

f. Purses and Bags

In the Tokugawa period people carried bags principally to hold money, tobacco, or paper. Such pouches were most often made of wool, velvet, or leather and came in a variety of shapes and sizes. Purses, or more accurately money bags, were ordinarily home-made cloth pouches tied with a string at the top. In a number of locations it was the practice to put a few coins in one of these and use it for a New Year's present. This custom was perhaps not very old, but it was fairly widespread by the Meiji period.

The metal-lipped coin purse was introduced from the West in the early Meiji period, after which it became very popular in the province as well as in the city. Around the time of the Russo-Japanese war, billfolds inside which there was a picture of Admiral Tōgō, the great hero of the war, enjoyed a tremendous vogue.

Around 1889, when all sorts of important events were going on—the opening of the diet, the election of diet members, the establishment on the new system of local government, the completion of the rail line from Tokyo to Osaka, and so on—there was a great increase in the number of people carrying brief cases and folders. These later became indispensable to anyone who had the remotest claim to importance. Until 1892 brief cases and the metal fittings for coin purses were both imported from abroad, but in that year a man named Morita Rihei opened a factory in Osaka to produce such items, after which they became into even wider use. Also in 1892 articles made

from alligator skin were first imported from America.

g. Spectacles

In the Meiji period there was a large new demand for eye-glasses on the part of officials, students, and teachers who spent much of their time poring over books, and the demand was further increased by others who wished to appear as though they spent much of their time poring over books. The fad for glasses among those whose eyes were perfectly good was apparently quite widespread for a time.

The *Record of Enlightenment and Prosperity in Tokyo* (*Tokyo Kaika Hanjō-shi*) speaks sarcastically of people wearing spectacles to keep dust out of their eyes, and a policeman in Gifu is recorded to have asked the head of the prefectural hospital whether the paractice among intellectuals of growing long hair was not an affection "like the practice among healthy people of wearing glasses."

Spectacles must have grown fairly common during the period, but people over seventy remember that a person wearing glasses was often described as looking like an official. Actually, it is likely that a relatively high proportion of the people who actually needed glasses were indeed officials, and it is therefore not surprising that in this age of reverence for anything governmental many persons adopted glasses for show.

7. THE CARE OF CLOTHING

Soap was introduced to Japan from the West in the sixteenth century, but used only by Christian converts and a limited number of warrior class families. The vast majority of the population employed other detergents until modern times. The *Report on Life in the Meiji Period* mentions the following materials, along with the districts where they were used:

DETERGENTS USED IN MEIJI

<i>Name of Material</i>	<i>Name of Prefectures Where Used</i>
Lye	Iwate, Yamagata, Fukushima, Niigata, Gumma, Tokyo, Kanagawa, Mie, Osaka, Hyōgo, Hiroshima, Miyagi, Saga, Shimane, Kumamoto, Akita, Ibaragi, Yamanashi, Tokushima, Nara, Tottori, Okayama, Yamaguchi, Kagawa, Ehime, Kagoshima, Tochigi, Ishikawa, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Shizuoka.
Water in which rice has been washed.	Fukushima, Kanagawa, Yamanashi, Nagano, Shiga, Shimane, Yamagata, Ibaragi, Ishikawa, Tokushima, Nara, Wakayama, Okayama, Yamaguchi, Hyōgo, Mie, Kōchi, Kyōto, Gumma, Fukuoka, Toyama.
Soapberry	Mie, Tochigi, Kyōto, Kumamoto.
Honey-locust plant	Iwate, Fukushima.
Fruit of the Japanese Cypress	Tochigi.
Powdered Lentils	Ishikawa, Kōchi, Fukuoka.
Water in which nermicelli has been boiled	Tokyo, Kagawa, Miyagi, Kagoshima, Kyoto.
Bath water	Saga.
Clay	Ibaragi, Yamanashi, Tochigi.
<i>Gloiopeltis furcata</i>	Shimane.
Soda	Iwate, Yamanashi, Mie, Hyōgo, Hiroshima, Saga, Aichi, Kyōto.

All of the above, lye in particular, continued to be used alongside soap until the Taishō period or thereafter. Soap was again imported in the late Tokugawa period and was apparently

adopted fairly quickly in Edo and its vicinity. In 1872 soap factories were built in both Tokyo and Osaka, and by around 1905 domestic soap was being sold throughout the country.

Prior to the Meiji period, wool clothing was scarcely known in Japan, and as a consequence, people concerned themselves very little over possible damage to clothing by insects. On the other hand, since the climate is humid, a good deal of precaution was exercised against mold. Clothes were invariably put out to air twice a year, once after the end of the early-summer rainy season and again around the time for the change from summer to autumn clothing. This practice persisted throughout the country in the Meiji period and has only recently begun to die out.

8. CLOTHING AND MEIJI LIFE

The changes in clothing styles in the Meiji were so numerous and complicated that it would be misleading to represent them as forming a single great current. The manner in which people accepted new styles varied with the location in which they lived, their social status, their position, and indeed their individual personalities, so that the history of clothing in this period presents not one, but dozens of interwoven historical patterns. Still, in closing this chapter we should like to call attention to three broad phenomena that emerge from our studies.

The first is the development of a double standard in everyday dress; that is to say, a standard for the office or the factory and a standard for the home. After Western styles of clothing were introduced they were found to be eminently suited to action and movement and therefore to work. They were therefore adopted with relative speed by the military forces, by students, by laborers in new factories, and by those who used the rapid new transportation facilities. To be sure, they were also adopted by many who were simply following the styles of the times, but basically their spread was due not to idle

fashion, but to the development of buildings, facilities, and methods of work with which they were compatible and with which traditional forms of dress were incompatible.

On the other hand, Western styles were not suited to the houses in which Japanese lived, or more particularly to the modes of living that had developed inside these houses. To state the matter very plainly, Western clothing was simply not designed for sitting or kneeling on the floor, whereas Japanese house were designed precisely for that. In order to adopt Western clothing into domestic life, it would have been necessary to alter the traditional forms of residential architecture completely, and this of course would have been out of the question for most people, even if they had desired it. Nor is there any sign that many of them did, for even in Tokyo, where Western-style clothing is more common than anywhere else, the vast majority of residences are still basically Japanese in style, although both the earthquake of 1923 and the air raids of World War II presented the populace with opportunities to rebuild in the Western manner. Evidently, the average Japanese is not seriously indisposed by the custom of wearing one type of clothing at work and another at home.

The second important point about Meiji dress is that women's traditional dress, though in almost every way less convenient than men's proved for more resistant to change. The empress supported Western clothing, and the ladies who frequented the Rokumei-kan wore it; women teachers and students were inclined to adopt it, and the Ladies' Society for Foreign Hair Styles was in favor of it. But all this was in the second decade of Meiji when reform was keynote of the times. With everyone talking of reforming life, reforming the theater, reforming the novel, reforming races, reforming the sewage system, and so on, it would have been strange indeed if no one had tried to reform women and women's clothing. When in the Meiji thirties the reaction set in, however, women's styles were among the first things to be re-reformed. This is not to say that pre-

Meiji fashions were revived *in toto*. On the contrary, as pointed out above, women's clothing and make-up were lighter, simpler, and more suited to movement than before. Still, it cannot be said that Western-style clothing for women was accepted by ordinary Japanese in the Meiji period. The reason no doubt was that the woman's place was still in the home—in the house where one sat and worked on the floor. Work clothes were adopted by women working in offices and factories, but career women were still looked down upon, and their clothing had little influence on women's fashions as a whole. So long as women were tied down to the duties of maintaining a Japanese household, they continued to wear Japanese dress.

The final important point concerns the expense of clothing during the Meiji period. The basic economic fact is that whereas to a great extent people had supplied their own clothing in the previous period, they now bought it, or at least the goods needed to make it. Moreover, the expense was increased by the instability of clothing styles. The old styles of formal dress used on great occasions were virtually abandoned, but nothing was found that could adequately take their place. A multitude of new fashions were adopted, often quite ostentatiously, by the rich, and the poor developed the habit of following along as best they could, whether they were really financially able or not.

Clothing entered a state of transition from which it has not yet emerged. The strict clothing regulation of the Tokugawa period and the stoic masks of the warrior class gave way to freer styles that laid more emphasis on natural healthy. Certainly people must have experienced a healthy exhilaration at being able to pick and choose from so many new and attractive styles, but it did not come without a price.

Chapter Three

FOOD AND DRINK

1. THE TRADITIONAL DIET

a. Production and Consumption of the Principal Foods At the End of the Tokugawa Period

(1) Types of principal foods

The leading agricultural products prior to the Meiji period were rice, barley, soybeans, millet, sugar, cane, buckwheat, and Deccan grass (*hie*). In 1878, only a few years after the Restoration, the areas under cultivation by crop were as follows:

Crop	Area (Unit 1000 <i>chō</i> , or approximately 1000 hectares)
Rice	2535.4
Rye	838.3
Wheat	369.5
Barley	608.3
Soybeans	441.6
German Millet	236.3
Sweet Potatoes	159.4
Buckwheat	155.9
Deccan grass	108.5
Lentils	44.5
Italian Millet	25.5
Potatoes	9.5
Total:	5,532.7

As this list shows, rice was the most important crop, but the area devoted to it was less than half the total area. The size of the harvest did not necessarily correspond exactly to these figures, but it is clear that miscellaneous grains were produced in almost as large quantities as rice and were used to supplement the rice supply.

Rice was by no means available to all the people in equal quantities. Under the feudal system 55% of the total crop had to be submitted to the district rulers in tribute, but for one reason or another, much of this amount was returned to the people, and the ruler retained less than one-third of the original amount. This was allotted to samurai in Edo, Kyoto, Osaka and the local castle towns, and much of it was sold to ordinary townspeople. The cities and towns, accordingly, lived on a rice diet, but farmers as a rule had to mix other grains with their rice. Since farm communities aimed at self-sufficiency and avoided buying food from without the diet in rural districts depended on what could be grown in them.

The annual report for 1877 the Ministry of Education cited the results of an official survey of rice consumption in towns and cities. The figures were as follows:

Number of houses	1,041,272
Consumption of rice per annum	5,610,671 <i>koku</i>
Average consumption per house	5.3882
" " " person	1.28

As for the consumption of rice in rural areas, in 1879 the Bureau of National Indentures published the following figures:

In other words, the amount of rice per person was .4567 *koku* less in the rural areas than in the towns and cities. Paradoxically, then, the farmers, a large majority of whom were rice producers were usually forced to eat other grains.

It should be noted in this connection that the types of supplementary grains produced varied considerably with the region.

FOOD AND DRINK

Number of houses	6,224,672	
Farming families	5,586,241	
Families engaged in work other than farming	639,431	
Consumption of rice per annum	22,560,816	<i>koku</i>
Average per family	3.6244	<i>shu</i>
" " person	0.7613	<i>shu</i>

According to data submitted by traveling representatives of the Finance Ministry to the Bureau for Land Tax Revision in 1878, the grains eaten in the various prefectures were as follows:

From *Nōsonshi* (History of Village Life) by Ono Takeo

*Prefecture**Name of Grain*

Aomori, Iwate.

Rice, wheat, or barley, German millet, barn-yard millet, buckwheat, horsechestnuts, chestnuts radishes.

Akita

Rice, except in Kakaku County.

Yamagata (Shōnai)

Generally rice, and rarely wheat, barley, or millet. Diet neither coarse nor extravagant.

Miyagi

Rice, wheat, barley, millet, barn-yard millet, buckwheat.

Fukushima (Iwashiro)

Rice, wheat, when possible, but ordinarily mixed with wheat, barley, millet, barn-yard millet, and radish (dried or fresh).

(Iwaki)

Rice, wheat, barley, millet, buckwheat.

Ibaraki

Half rice, half other grains. Rice mixed with barley, millet or barn-yard millet. (generally, proportion of rice large in the western area, small in the eastern area). Also wheat and buck-

wheat.

<i>Prefecture</i>	<i>Name of Grain</i>
Saitama	Rice, wheat, barley, millet, barn-yard millet.
Chiba, Kanagawa, Nagano	Rice, wheat, barley, millet, barn-yard millet, buckwheat.
Yamanashi	Rice, wheat, barley, corn, millet, barn-yard millet.
Shizuoka (Izu)	Rice 70%, wheat, barley, barn-yard millet, millet 30%.
(Suruga)	Rice 29%, wheat or barley 37%, barn-yard millet 12%, millet 12%, and sweet potato, radish, pumpkin, beans, etc., 10%.
(Tōtōmi)	Upper class (30% of population), rice. Middle class (30% of population), half rice and half wheat or barley. Upper lower class of (20% of population) rice 30% and wheat or barley 70%. Lowest class (20% of population) rice 20% and other grains 80%.
Mie	Half rice and half wheat or barley. In remote districts of Ise and Shima potatoes or sweet potatoes. In Iga district barn-yard millet or vegetables mixed with wheat or barley was often usual diet.
Shiga	Rice 70%, wheat, barley, or buckwheat 30%.
Nara	Rice, barley, millet, soybean, vegetables, etc;.
Osaka	Rice, barley, radish, buckwheat,

	Wheat, sweet potato, Millet.
Wakayama	Usually barley. In Mountain villagers, where could grain were unavailable potato as, ordinarily mixed with nuts or grass buds.
Hyōgo	Rice 70%, barley 30%.
Tottori	Rice 60%, wheat or barley 40%, sometimes millet. Deccan grass, sweet potatoes and potatoes; in the mountain districts horse chestnuts.
Shimane (Oki)	Rice 30%; wheat, barley, potatoes millet, or buckwheat 70%.
Okayama (Mimasaka)	Generally wheat or barley.
Hiroshima (Northern Part)	Rice, 70%; wheat, barley, millet or buckwheat 30%.
(Southern part)	Rice, 70%; wheat, barley, or sweet potatoes 30%.
Tokushima	Rice 25%; wheat or barley 50%; other grains 25%.
Kōchi	Rice 28%; Wheat or barley 27%; sweet potatoes 24%; Deccan grass 4%; Millet 2%; Potatoes 2%; Buckwheat 1%.
Kagawa	Wheat or barley 70%, rice 30%; most poor people and the inhabitants of some islands ate wheat, or barley, sweet potatoes, and small fish; mountain villagers usually ate corn, supplemented by sweet potatoes. Deccan grass, millet, or the fruits of trees.
Ehime	Most villager Rice, wheat or barley in most villages; barley, sweet potato, or small fish in the coastal

	regions; corn, sweet potato, barnyard millet, millet and the fruits of trees in the mountain villages.
Ōita	Wheat, barley, millet, Deccan grass, coastaline district in only southeast had only sweet potatoes.
Miyazaki	Rice, wheat, or barley.
Nagasaki	Rice 25%; wheat or barley 35%; sweet potatoes 40%.
(Iki)	Rice 10% remainder wheat, barley, potatoes.
(Tsushima)	Wheat, barley, potatoes.

The above shows that in southwest Japan sweet potatoes and barley were common, whereas millet, buckwheat, and Deccan grass were more frequent in the east. In the mountain chestnuts and horse-chestnuts constituted an important item in the diet. Only in Akita, Yamagata, Niigata, Toyama, and Ishikawa Prefectures, which all lie in the rich plain along the Sea of Japan was rice the principal everyday food. Furthermore, this was 10 years after the end of feudal government, and the rice diet had already become more widespread than before. A contemporary source says:

In the past one could count on one's fingers the days in the year when farming families of the middle class or even above ate rice, but in recent years many farmers have found themselves in a position to afford a daily rice diet. Consequently, though last year's crop could hardly be called a poor one, there has been a shortage of rice this year.

—From the answer to a questionnaire concerning the revision of customs duties, 1879.

This to the contrary notwithstanding, however, the ratio of

rice to other foods consumed does not appear to have changed drastically. Statistics given in *A History of Farming Villages* (*Nōson-shi*) bear this out:

Percentage of Total Grain Consumption

Year	Rice	Wheat or Barley	Other Grains	Sweet Potatoes	Miscellaneous
1861	47	28	19	3	3
1870	50	27	17	3	3
1879	53	27	14	5	1
1886	51	28	13	5	3

The only definite trend this shows is a gradual decrease in the proportion of grains other than rice and barley, and even this was a gentle decline. As a matter of fact, such changes as took place spread slowly from the cities to the outlying regions, and at this point the customary diet in the latter was still about the same as it had been.

The local differences in diet are largely accounted for by the economic regionalism that had prevailed during the feudal age. Prior to the Restoration, when a district suffered a poor rice crop, it could hope for no assistance from other areas, since the rulers of the latter, fearing price rises in their own domains, banned movements of the grain. The blighted region was left to face famine as best it could. To avoid such a fate, each feudal district had to maintain a self-sufficient economy, and the responsibility for doing so devolved on the farmers themselves. In effect, each farmer had to provide his own food, no matter how frugal it might be. This, however, was not the case in the towns. Moriguchi Tari in his *Town-Dwellers* (*Machi no Minzoku*) said:

In the old days poor families did not mix inferior grains with their rice. When rice was scarce, they simply made gruel of it to increase the quantity. On the other hand,

relatively rich families as a rule mixed their rice with other things because there were too many months to fill with rice alone. Usually the rice was supplemented with radishes, millet, or barley.

In the towns, then, even poor people ate rice, and in Osaka, at least there was a common expression implying that even rice needed something good to go with it.

(2) Measures Against Famine

During the period between 1637 and 1853 not only was Japan closed to foreign countries other than Holland, but even the individual fiefs were largely isolated from one another. People were not free to travel or live where they pleased, nor was there free exchange of goods among them. Each district had to solve its own problems, and when a local ruler was unable to settle questions arising in his jurisdiction he was either moved to another or relieved of his office.

During the Tokugawa period, Japan suffered there great famines, occurring in the Kyōho, Temmei, and Tempō eras. There were other lean years, of course, but the damage was largely confined to particular localities. The Kyōho famine resulted from attacks of locusts in western Japan, the Temmei famine, from unseasonable cold in the northeast; and the Tempō famine, from an excess of rain throughout the country. Each famine caused a multitude of deaths. For example, the town of Kuga, in what is now Yamaguchi Prefecture, lost one thousand persons, or one-fifth of its population, in the Kyōho period and again in the Temmei period. In the community of Hirae, which lay somewhat to the east of Kuga and which contained only a few hundred families, two hundred persons starved in the Kyōho period. This, it will be observed, was in an area where there were two annual rice crops. In the northeast areas, where there was only one, the losses were even greater.

In 1782 the fief of Tsugaru suffered an estimated loss of 121,780 *koku* (apr. 608,800 bushels) of rice, and in the second month 1784 there were 64,000 deaths. A survey in the ninth

revealed 81,700 persons dead, along with 13,917 hectares of rice fields and 6,931 hectares of garden plots laid waste.

The Aisaka section of the village of Fujisaka, Aomori Prefecture, known for having produced a new cold-resistant rice (Fujisaka No 5) after World War II, had 66 families in the An'ei era, but during the Temmei it was reduced to 30 villages. Also, Takashimizu section of the 13 families who inhabited the same village in 1795, only one, that of a man named Yaemon, remained after the Temmei famine. In 1784 the village of Ōta, Iwate Prefecture, suffered 10 times as many deaths as in a normal year. The destruction in the 6 northeastern prefectures was thus tremendous nor the effects limited to this area. The population of Japan increased steadily after the beginning of the Tokugawa period, and in 1732 it was more than 33,000,000, but after the famine of the following year it fell below the 30,000,000 mark, and what with the famines of the Temmei and Tempō periods, it did not again reach the 1,732 level until after the opening of the country.

Although research on the effects of bad crops is still incomplete, it is clear from folk songs still sung in various regions that famine was a perennial threat.

Unfortunately, the measures taken to combat famine were inadequate indeed. Limits were placed on the amount of rice devoted to making sake, surveys of rice supplies were made, the rich dolled out food supplies, and the government issued relief to a certain degree, but that was about all (History of Nishimurayama County). The establishment of village store houses was the only permanent measure, and it was inadequate. In the northeast region, particularly in the mountains of north Iwate Prefecture, crop failure was frequent, and the residents of many sections often tried to maintain a store inferior grain, which was usually kept in the store-house of the leading member of the community. Similar practices were common in the Kantō region. In western Japan, wheat was often stored in the community storehouses.

Storehouses, though encouraged by the feudal rulers, were not made compulsory, and they did not exist in all villages. As a rule they were frequent in mountain villages and relatively rare near the seacoast. In Sendai, Tokushima, Toyama, Mito, and Yamaguchi, for example, they were actively supported by the rulers, but more often they were created voluntarily by the people. They were distributed somewhat unevenly, and in Kyūshū they were particularly scarce, partly because famines were rare there, and partly because the inhabitants, living for the most part near the sea, kept extra supplies of seaweed in the atticks of their houses in case of need. As a rule, food stored up against hard times was of inferior quality.

In the Meiji period the feudal districts were abolished, but in the early years transportation was still difficult, and the feeling of local isolation remained strong. Some prefectures, therefore, preserved the village storehouses for a time, but the institution had by and large outlived its usefulness. The breaking down of the feudal barriers went a long way toward stabilizing the average farmer's food supply.

What really saved the country from famines, however, was the opening of the country to foreign trade. In 1867, when the price of rice in Edo was extremely high due to a poor crop, the government actively encouraged the purchase of foreign rice, and this policy was followed in later years as well. The amounts imported annually in the early years of Meiji were as follows.

1868	82,709 <i>koku</i>
1869	648,285 "
1870	2,150,843 "
1871	163,832 "

The rice crop in 1869 amounted to only 37.5% of the average, and in 1870 it rose to only 54%. Thanks largely to imported rice, however, famines such as those of the Tempō era were averted.

(3) Rice transport and consumption of rice in the cities

The main centers of rice consumption were Edo, Osaka, Kyoto, and the various castle towns and highway stations, in 1862 a population of 700,000 consumed 1,000,000 *koku*. Most of this was tribute from the 47 feudal districts under the direct rule of the Tokugawa shogunate. From western Japan it was sent in large ships which sailed up the Bay of Edo to deliver it. From the east it was sent in somewhat smaller vessels to Chōshi, transhipped to river boats, and taken up the Tone River to Edo. In one year from 40,000 to 190,000 *koku* were shipped from Mutsu in the northeast, and several times that amount from western Japan. All the rice was delivered to warehouses in Asakusa. Theoretically it thence went to the vassals of the Tokugawa family as their emolument, but in fact most of it went to special agents of the vassals, called *fudasashi*, who sold it to wholesale merchants. There were 109 of these agents, and they received a fixed commission for their services.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF THE OPENING OF THE COUNTRY ON EATING HABITS

New Foods

(1) The Importing and Exporting of Rice

The most important direct effect of the opening of the country on the nation's diet was that the importation of foreign rice virtually put an end to serious famines. In the spring of 1869, for instance, the price of rice rose to 1.2 *ryō* per *koku* in Higo and Chikuzen, but thanks to imports from Annam and Saigon, it fell to 8 *ryō* by August. It happened that in this year there was a bountiful rice crop in French Indo-China, and 3,180,000 *koku* (according to another source 648,285 *koku*) were imported into Japan by foreign merchants.

On the other hand, even after the abolition of the fiefs rice from the coast of the Japan Sea continued to pour into Osaka,

and a considerable surplus accumulated there. In 1873 the government authorized the export of rice from nearby Kōbe, and soon rice-laden ships from the north country also began to gather in this region. The amount of rice exported from Kōbe during the first twenty years of Meiji was as follows:

THE RECORD OF RICE EXPORTED

<i>Year</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Price</i>
1873	65,805 <i>koku</i>	533,431 <i>yen</i>
1874	55,842 "	316,126 "
1875	2,173 "	16,059 "
1876	187,801 "	810,236 "
1877	416,884 "	2,269,091 "
1878	796,169 "	4,643,772 "
1879	54,389 "	416,819 "
1880	27,280 "	210,652 "
1881	42,624 "	261,737 "
1882	280,271 "	1,652,115 "
1883	174,162 "	1,001,000 "
1885		536,675 "
1887		1,706,739 "
(1 <i>koku</i> = 4.9629 bushels)		

The amount increased greatly until 1878 because of a famine in China but fell off after that year due to a rise in domestic prices. Conversely, imports were small between 1873 and 1878, but substantially larger in the subsequent three years.

THE RECORD OF RICE IMPORTED

<i>Year</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Price</i>
1878	9 <i>koku</i>	99 <i>yen</i>
1879	44,994 "	248,271 "
1880	79,321 "	434,315 "
1881	21,667 "	134,838 "
1882	2,868 "	20,134 "
(1 <i>koku</i> = 4.9629 bushels)		

The exporting of rice was at first limited to Kōbe, but in 1888, Shimonoseki, Moji, and Kuchinotsu were designated as special rice export ports. Still ninety per cent of the rice was shipped out of Kōbe. Incidentally, rice was not imported into Kōbe until 1882. Until that time rice imports usually entered the country at Yokohama or Nagasaki. Rice was at this time the chief Japanese export.

In 1891 a famine in China caused another rise in exports from Kōbe. The value of Annual exports in subsequent years was as follows:

Year	Value of rice exported
1890	¥1,232,986
1892	3,658,841
1893	2,623,401
1894	4,608,280
1895	6,202,530
1896	6,730,810

The importing and exporting of rice stabilized the price of the grain and made production of it a profitable enterprise. As a result those who had capital bought up rice lands, while poor farmers, now faced with the necessity of paying their taxes in cash, often sold their land and became tenants.

After 1873, rice from the northeast tended to flow into Kōbe, and as a result, rice shortages occurred in Osaka. Rice merchants in the latter city therefore began buying large quantities of Chinese rice. At that time, however, not even the poorest people in Osaka would eat Chinese or Korean rice, whatever else they ate, and the foreign rice could not at first be sold. The merchants soon hit upon the idea of mixing seven parts Japanese rice with three parts foreign rice, but when the rich people of the city heard about this, they began sending to Hyōgo for pure Japanese rice, and eventually it was prohibited to mix in the foreign product. Subsequently, however, the average

people of Osaka gradually grew accustomed to rice from abroad and after around 1890 rice imported in fairly large quantities.

In that very year the price of rice went up so that the poorer residents of the cities were severely pressed. In the metropolitan district of Tokyo between July 1 and July 20, rice retainers went to court 512 times to sue for payments from their customers, and many the latter lower-class officials in the government, the police force, and the army were numerous (*Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper*, July 26, 1890). People who ordinarily ate second-class rice were reduced to fifth-class rice, and the lowest classes switched to bread, baked potatoes, gruel, wheat flour, and the like. Some persons did a heavy business selling left-overs from army mess halls (*Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper*, June 16, 1889). Under the circumstances there was a rush to import foreign rice, and since it had the advantage not only of being cheap and better than rice substitutes, but of increasing about forty per cent in bulk when cooked, it sold very well (*Nichi-nichi* March 7, 1889). On the other hand, with rice being imported in quantities, in May, 1892, so much domestic rice had accumulated in Tokyo and Osaka warehouses that the price that year plummeted.

In the Meiji period the non-agricultural population grew by leaps and bounds. In the cities, where these people accumulated, rice was found to be the easiest food, whether for the factory lunch room, the lunch box, the eating and drinking establishments, or the home. Consequently, though the national population increased from 33,000,000 to 50,000,000 during the period, the per capita consumption of rice also increased. The average

Interval	Average annual consumption of rice per person.
1868-1879	7.0 to (=app. 3.5 bushels)
1880-1887	8.0 " (4.0)
1888-1896	9.3 " (4.6)
1899-1914	10.2 " (5.1)

yearly consumption was as mentioned above:

Rice became, in short, the principal daily food of most Japanese. During this time the area devoted to rice production was as follows:

<i>Years</i>	<i>Average area devoted to rice</i>	<i>Average harvest</i>	<i>Amount of Rice per tan</i>
1878-1882	2,547,951.0 chō	29,811,656 koku	1.17 koku
1908-1912	2,957,278.0 #	50,587,840 #	1.71 #

Despite increased production, however, the demand could not be met internally, rice had to be imported. Imports were very large around the time of the Russo-Japanese war, but even after that they did not fall below two or three million *koku* annually. From about this time, Korea and Formosa became important sources of rice.

(2) Meat

In the Tokugawa period, people in western Japan ate boars, and people in the east ate deers and bears, but domesticated animals were not eaten publicly. There was a general feeling throughout the country that the meat of horses, oxen, and cows was unclean. To be sure, it is recorded that meat-eating was adopted by some in the early Tokugawa period, when it was introduced by Christian missionaries, and it is known that some farmers ate meat for medicinal purposes, as a general rule meat was not considered proper food.

In Hachijōjima in 1869, for example, 10 persons were banished, 10 others fired, and 3 others scolded for the crime of killing and eating an ox, and it is very likely that such punishments had long been in practice in various rural areas, since an unclean crime of this sort was thought to invite misfortune upon the whole community. Furthermore, people who had cows or oxen regarded them virtually as members of the family. Katayama Sen wrote the following in his autobiography:

I was born in a farm house, and I worked as a farmer. The family ox was absolutely necessary for plowing, and we loved him as one of ourselves. I followed behind him working, and I made money on his labor. I had so many memories of the animal that I would never have wanted to eat meat.

Farmers were often affected by such humane feelings, but people in the cities, who neither raised nor depended on boovines had no prejudice about eating beef. The government encouraged its consumption to the extent of establishing in 1869 the Tsukiji Beef Company, and meat spread among the urban population with little resistance.

The earliest meat market is supposed to have been the Tokumatsu in Osaka, which reputedly went into business in 1851, 2 years before the arrival of Commodore Perry, but one is inclined to doubt that this concern actually went into operation at that time, at least openly. In 1867 a meat store called Nakagawa-ya was opened near the pier of the English House, which was located in the Takanawa district of Edo, and the proprietor made the following announcement:

Meat is good for the health. It gives energy, strength, and vitality to those who are weak or sick, as well as to those who are recuperating from an illness. We are selling choice meats as cheaply as possible, and we hope that everyone will buy some. Furthermore, we will show you diagrams of the cuts of beef, teach you the delicious parts, and explain which to use for roasting for bailing, or for stewing.

Added to this is a list of cuts and suggested ways of cooking them, which the proprietor presumably learned from a foreign customer. The cooking lessons, however, fell on deaf ears, for while the people of Tokyo began to buy beef they apparently bought it for itself rather than for the exotic foreign dishes

that could be made with it:

In Kanagaki Robun's *Aguranabe*, published in 1871, there are pictures of people of various classes eating beef, and without exception the dinners are seated around a brazier on which *sukiyaki* is being prepared. Presumably those who introduced beef tried to western cuisine, but they were largely unsuccessful.

In any event, what had been spoken of clandestinely as "mountain whale" was now sold in public. Flags with the word "Beef" written large on them were hung above the stores, and above those flags were others reading "Government Approved." Butchers hung legs of beef in full view and brandished their knives in a fashion hitherto unheard of.

By 1873 or 1874 Yokohama and Yokosuka were killing 90 cows a day, the meat from more than half of which was sent to Tokyo. Even in Tokyo 14 or 15 heads were slaughtered daily. Cattle from Hyōgo were the most highly valued, steers costing from ¥34 or ¥35 to ¥50 a head, and cows about ¥10 less. Aizu, Kurihara, Tsugaru, Niida, in Izumo, and several other places produced cattle that brought from ¥25 to ¥40 per head. Animals from Izu were cheap since they were made to do heavy labor before they were sold for slaughter.

Since *sukiyaki* could be bought for 3 *sen* and a skewer of cooked meat for only 2 *cash*, one supposes that ordinary people were able to eat meat. The methods of cooking were, as we have said, essentially Japanese, and the dishes prepared were designed to go well with Japanese meals, but it took a good deal of time for them actually to be adopted for household use. Most people ate at when they wanted meat, and this added to the charm.

Meat-eating centered around Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, and Nagoya. It was comparatively late to reach Kyoto, but that was only to be expected since Kyoto was slow to take up Western customs in general. In the provinces, the government encouraged meat-eating. A statement to the following effect

was issued by the Tsuruga Prefectural Office in 1872:

Meat is a nourishing food that helps keep people in good spirits and strengthens the blood, but some people, bound by conservatism, not only refuse to eat it themselves but over that it is unclean, and that people who eat it cannot appear before the gods.... This is sheer bigotry. If there are such people in the vicinity, the officials of the town should go and explain the value of meat to them.

This was apparently issued largely on behalf of a butcher who had opened shop in Tsuruga but was losing money because of rumors spread by those opposed to meat. In any event, pronouncements of this sort could not have changed long-standing customs overnight.

Edward Morse, in his *Days in Japan*, remarked that in 1877 there were still few meat stores. He recalled seeing one with a great slab of beef cut in front and a woman sitting beside it chasing away flies with a fan. Morse may very well not have known of the *sukiyaki* houses, but his description of meat stores as a great curiosity suggests that they were not in fact enjoying the height of prosperity. On the other hand he mentions having seen a man who had walked three steers and three cows all the way from Kyoto to Tokyo to have them slaughtered for the meat-eating foreigners. Foreigners were not, of course, the only meat eaters, but the man from Kyoto may very well have thought they were.

The largest slaughtering district was the metropolitan prefecture of Osaka. In 1879, 350 heads were slaughtered in the village of Yasui, 110 in the village of Sōji-ji, 120 in the village of Jikumatsu, and 1,862 in the village of Saraike, or 2,442 in all. By 1885, there were 18 slaughtering areas and 84 companies engaged in the slaughtering business. The number of cattle slaughtered in this district that year was 12,676, as compared to 15,419 for the whole country. Cattle-raising thrived in the

Kansai region, and since transportation facilities were still undeveloped, a good proportion of the meat must have been eaten there. We might note in this connection that a report on eating habits in 1878 lists beef as one of the important foods in Takaichi County, Nara Prefecture. So many heads of cattle were being slaughtered that some people considered the killing of animals formerly used for plowing to the one of the main courses for a drop in food production that occurred around 1880. In Tokyo a newspaper reported in 1881 that contrary to previous experience, the meat and chicken stores were even prospering in the summer-time, and that fewer customers were being seen in the shops selling *tempura* and *sushi*, both traditional foods. There were not enough cattle in the eastern cities to meet the demand, however, and, although as we have seen, people sometimes drove them all the way from Kyoto, the spread of meat-eating was still on the whole limited by meager transportation facilities.

(3) Milk

Milk was adopted at the same time as meat, but since Japanese cows did not give milk in sufficient quantities, foreign cows had to be imported, and government promotion was even more necessary than in the case of meat. In 1869 the Bureau of Trade set up a "horse and cow company" in the Tsukiji district of Tokyo, bought Western cows and milking equipment from an Englishman in Yokohama, and began producing milk. This was not the first such effort, however, for the shogunate had long before bred bulls imported from Portugal, Holland, and India with cows in the province of Awa (Chiba Peninsula) and succeeded in producing milk and butter for medicinal uses. After 1870 the Chiba strain was improved by breeding the cows with bulls from England and Holland, and in 1876 the government leased grazing land to people in the territory. The Chiba area contributed much to the development of Western strains in Japan. The principal milk cows were Holsteins.

Milk from Japanese cows was also sold, but only about a

tenth as much milk could be got from them as from foreign cows. They sold, we might add, for only about a tenth as much money. All in all, though milking and purifying techniques in this period left much to be desired, a fair quantity of milk was produced, and the consumption as well as that of butter, cheese, and other milk product was encouraged by the government and private leaders alike. A number of milk companies sprang up.

In the early 1870's foreign strains of cattle were purchased in Atago, Gumma, Fukui, Chiba, and Kyoto Prefectures. As this fact indicates, the consumption of milk was not limited to the cities like that of meat. The health-giving qualities of milk were widely recognized, partially, we should note, because of the knowledge of Dutch medicine gained in the Tokugawa period. The ministry of Education, for its part, published books showing that meat and milk, far from being unclean, had been eaten and drunk in ancient times in Japan, which of course made them all right.

In Osaka, milk production began in 1871, and by 1881 there were 7 dairies, using either Western cows or improved Japanese strains. At the time actually there was already a surplus of milk in the city, and a man named Maeda Matsunosuke began producing butter as well. Apparently the milk business was reasonably profitable in the cities but a story to the effect that a man in Fukui Prefecture kept on producing milk despite financial losses suggests that the business was none too good in the country.

Cow's milk was used as a substitute for mother's milk, and baby bottles with rubber nipples were introduced. The Sanoya, a company in Fujimi-chō, Tokyo, sold nipples under the name *Uba Irazu*, which literally mean "no need for a nurse to suckle," and advertised that in the West even if a mother could give milk herself, she put her babies on bottles when they were 3 months old.

Bottled milk was not common, and the milk sold was often

not very clean. Too, the cowsheds were unsanitary, and the milk spoiled quickly. The government issued regulations to combat these conditions, and in 1881 milk deliveries to the home were instituted in Tokyo so that the people who needed milk could obtain it while it was still fresh. To avoid loss by spoilage, one Hoshino Fumi began manufacturing butter and powdered milk, and gradually bottled milk came more and more into use. In 1881 a bottle shortage led to the manufacture of canned powdered milk. In these early stages milk was still regarded as a drink for babies and sick people exclusively, but as time went on more and more people drank it for their health. In 1888 there were 165 persons engaged in milking cows in Tokyo and 157 selling the milk. The price of 1 *gō*—(0.3 pt.) of milk was 3 (1/2) *sen*, or 2 (1/2) *sen* to those who took 4 *gō* or more per day.

(4) Meat other than beef

Pork has long been eaten in the Ryūkyūs, Amami Ōshima, and Kagoshima. The pigs raised in these places were of a Japanese breed, black in color and generally similar to boars. In Edo pigs were first raised in the middle 1860's, and by 1869 or 1870 they were being bred in large numbers. Most of them were Berkshires. In Osaka around 1870 city and country people alike suddenly took to raising pigs as pets, but this fad soon ended, as might have been predicted. Pork was not eaten to any considerable degree in Tokyo until 1882 or 1883, but after that the demand increased, and farmers in nearby areas began to raise pigs for sale. It was often removed that the meat was bad, however, and to make matters worse pigs multiply rapidly, so that the price of pork and the number of animals bred varied greatly from year to year. In 1883, 1,989 pigs were slaughtered, but in 1885 the number fell to 774.

In the early Meiji people also began eating horse meat, the first recorded instance having occurred in Matsumoto, Nagano Prefecture, in 1882. The practice became fairly common in Nagano and points east, but was virtually unknown in the west.

In 1887, the first year for which figures are available, 1,229 horses were slaughtered for their meat. This was only about 6 per cent of the number of cows and steers killed (19,736).

In January, 1888, a man named Ōno Nao of Asakusa applied to the metropolitan government of Tokyo for permission to operate a wholesale horse-meat business and to form a union of retailers. By this time there were 85 dealers handling the meat in Tokyo. As it became more popular, unscrupulous butchers took to mixing it with beef, and the metropolitan police eventually undertook an inspection aimed at preventing this practice.

The eating of horse meat did not, of course, come from the Occident, but rather resulted from the fashion of eating beef. Horse meat, however, was cheaper than beef. Nomura Kodō has related the following of his school-days, in Morioka around 1897:

In an age when rice sold at 10 *sen*, a *shō*, to pay 30 or 40 *sen* for a pound or so of beef was more spendthrift than buying turkey today. We hope at the school therefore got up some money and sent 2 or 3 good soldiers out to an illegal horse-meat dealer's establishment outside the city for some meat. For 10 *sen* they bought 7 or 8 pounds of meat so fresh that the blood was still running out. We had a real feast . . . We just cut up the meat and without washing or precooking it put it in to boil with sugar, soysauce, onions, and bean curd . . . We did this many times when we tired of horse meat, we bought cheap pork or beef.

Chicken was taken up so quickly that it was already old hat by the time meat became popular among the *avant* goods, and the latter regarded chicken-eaters as little better than fish-eaters. Eggs were consumed on an even larger scale, particularly in western Japan, where the practice of eating them seems to have been introduced by Europeans in the sixteenth or seventeenth

century.

Indigenous chickens were small, as were their eggs, and after 1877 attempts to improve the breed were begun. In 1880 the first incubator was put into operation in Mita, and chicken breeding became much simpler, but incubators were not widely used until after 1888, when a cheap model appeared. In 1886 and 1888 various American breeds of chicken were imported, and thereafter Japanese strains grew much better. Chicken breeding spread particularly in Chiba, Shizuoka, and Aichi Prefectures, but the budding industry was threatened after 1892 by the appearance of cheap Chinese eggs on the market, and chicken farming did not develop as a full fledged business until around 1907.

(5) New Farm Products

The Mita Plant Nursery in Tokyo took the leadership in introducing new farm products and improving old ones. Among the foreign plants it tested and distributed about the country in seed form were the asparagus, the cabbage, the onion, the cauliflower, and the tomato, all of which have since become a part of the Japanese diet. The Nursery also distributed many publications calculated to improve Japanese food production.

The new Western plants were first grown in the vicinity of Yokohama and Kōbe to meet the needs of resident foreigners. The vegetables rarely produced appeared on Japanese tables at first, nor were they compatible with current Japanese eating habits. The Japanese were, as Morse noted, accustomed only to a small number of relating poor vegetables, and these they merely cooked in soysauce, put into soup, or mixed with vinegar or been paste. The new vegetables therefore tasted strange, and they were not immediately accepted.

Even the potato, which was introduced from Java by the Dutch in the sixteenth century and subsequently produced in some quantity in central and eastern Honshū, was not grown all over the country until after 1885, when the Mita Nursery cut a pamphlet on the subject. New varieties of potatoes

required a long time to catch on. They were planted in Chiba Prefecture, near Tokyo, as early as 1887, but in 1902 the total produce in that area was only 1870 pounds.

Unlike vegetables, new fruits were adopted rather quickly, probably because they were eaten now and did not necessarily have to harmonize in flavor with the other food on the table. Cherries were introduced to Hokkaidō in 1868 by a German resident in Hakodate, and in 1872 at the suggestion of an American, the Hokkaidō Development Bureau tried growing them. The experiment was successful, and seeds were distributed about the country, but the trees failed except in Hokkaidō, Yonezawa, and Yamagata. At first the fruit was consumed in the area where it was produced, but in 1888 a shipment of it was sent from Yamagata to Sendai, and in 1891, when the Tōhoku Railway Line was opened, shipments were sent to Tokyo, where they were sold at a great profit. Subsequently, cherry trees were successfully grown in Fukushima, Aomori, Akita, Nagano, Niigata, Tottori, Shimane, Wakayama, Hiroshima, and Okayama Prefectures.

The apple was introduced by an American school teacher, who planted a sapling he had obtained from abroad. In 1875 the Home Ministry imported 1,300 young apple trees, which it distributed about the country. They grew well in Hokkaidō and the northeast, but at first the fruit spoiled easily and could not be kept more than 2 or 3 months. After the Hokkaidō Development Bureau succeeded in preserving them, they were a great success. Apples from the northeast were shipped to Tokyo, where they sold so well that apple-growers were to be seen dressed in fine Western clothes riding in rickshas to and from high-class restaurants. Later the trees were struck by a blight, and for a time no apples were produced at all.

A Japanese type of pear, larger, rounder, and finer than Western pears, was grown in many places, particularly the province of Echigo (Niigata Prefecture), prior to the Meiji period. Echigo pears were shipped to the Iida district in Shinano

(Nagano Prefecture) for sale, but in 1869 or 1870, a merchant named Maruyama Sankichi, who had been engaged in this trade, opened an orchard in a village near Iida and attempted to take over the business. At first his tenant fees took most of his profits but after 1880, when he moved to a patch of mountain land north of Iida, he began to net a tremendous amount. In no time at all 200 other persons were engaged in the pear business in this area. Unfortunately for them, however, the lack of sufficient transportation facilities caused a large surplus of pears in the district, and so much of the fruit spoiled that the business failed. Essentially the same thing happened in the province of Yamato (Nara Prefecture) with a slightly different species of pear. In effect, during the early Meiji, a number of people having heard that a large profit could be made on fruit, immediately started planting one kind or another without any very definite plans. Before long they had overproduced, and their trees had been attacked by blight of one sort or another. Behind most of the failures was the lack of facilities for transporting the fruit from the place where it was grown to adequate markets.

Peaches 1871 from Tientsin were introduced in and subsequently grown in Okayama. Other fruits and nuts introduced around this time were almonds, walnuts and grapes. Pears, peaches, tangerines, and grapes were gradually improved, and production of them grew to be a large business. At first fruits were spoken of as "water cookies" and regarded more or less as a type of confection. As both confections and fruits became more plentiful the two were more accurately distinguished, and though at first the sale of fruit seems to have cut into that of cakes, by the Taishō period, this was no longer the case.

(6) Cakes and bread

Before the Meiji period Japan had a variety of confections made from the paste of rice, beans, wheat-gluten, and the like, plus one or two foreign types of cake introduced in the sixteenth or seventeenth century by Europeans. Aside from the

latter, there was nothing that could be closed as a pastry, and when modern Western cookies and cakes were introduced, they met with a cool reception. Generally speaking, the trouble was that they were not sweet enough to be regarded as sweets, and not substantial enough to serve as a principal food.

With granulated sugar, on the other hand, was looked upon as a veritable treasure. In 1867, 500 catties of it are said to have been sold at a price of \$12 the catty. This price, of course, soon dropped to a more reasonable level, but for a long time afterward white sugar remained so rare that it was sold in medicine stores and indeed used by some as a sort of medicine, though with what effect one cannot say. In household cooking, white sugar was rarely used except on great occasions, such as the New Year's celebration, annual festivals, or wedding ceremonies.

After 1880 the government took active measures to improve the local product. An organization of producers was founded, and attempts made to produce white sugar from the black sugar then produced in the Ryūkyū Island and Ōshima. Foreign standards could not, however, be met at foreign prices, and the local sugar industry was for a long time a failure, with the result that the use of sugar did not spread rapidly outside the cities and trading ports.

After 1879 attempts were made to manufacture sugar from beets in Hokkaidō, but after struggle of 20 years the industry ultimately succumbed because of technical deficiencies, later problems, lack of adequate transportation, marketing difficulties, and bad management.

In 1875 a well-known Japanese confectioner began to manufacture Western-style sweet biscuits, and later maccaroons, wafers, and other foreign cookies were added to the repertoire, but few people outside the fashionable upper classes ate them. One difficulty was that most Western cakes and cookies were made with butter, which most ordinary Japanese of this age regarded with loathing. Another difficulty was that whereas

Japanese-style cakes were made by hand and painstakingly designed to be as pretty as possible, the Western cookies were manufactured and were decidedly plain in appearance. All in all, Western pastries were much less successful than Western fruit.

Almost every Japanese locality prided itself in one sort of special confection or another, and with the coming of sightseeing on a large scale, these various local products often found nationwide acceptance. When Japanese go on trips they almost always bring back gifts for the people at home, and often the gifts are food. The production of local confections flourished because of this practice but unfortunately, local manufacturers began to depend solely on out-of-town customers who would buy once but perhaps never be seen again. Confections were dyed bright colors to catch the eye of travelers, and often the dyes were harmful or even poisonous. In 1871, 1875, and 1877 the government issued severe restrictions on the coloring of foods, and the situation improved to some extent, but offences of this sort did not cease altogether.

(2) Manufactured foods

The principal Japanese manufactured foods in the early Meiji were *udon* (a type of macaroni made from wheat flour), *sōmen* (a type of noodle also made from wheat flour but with soda added), *tōfu* (bean curd), and *kanten* (a gelatinous substance the *gelidum amansii*).

Udon and *sōmen* were both first produced in large quantities in the late Tokugawa period. *Sōmen* was made mostly in what is now Hyōgo Prefecture. Farmers there took up the manufacture of it in the 1860's as a secondary occupation. In 1868's only about 10 houses were producing it, but by 1878 this number had risen to 500, and yearly production was valued at ¥150,000. *Sōmen* was popular in the summer, particularly during the *bon* season.

Udon on the other hand was popular in the winter. It was produced in the country by methods similar to those for making

sōmen, but certain varieties were also produced in the cities. It was and is sold in large quantities in cheap bunch rooms, drinking establishments, and street stall.

Kanten was first made at Fushimi in the early Tokugawa period, but later the province of Settsu became the center of production. It was used in making various types of jellied candies. At the end of the Tokugawa manufacturers in the Suwa district, (Nagano Prefecture) began turning it out in quantity, and after 1885, it was imported as jelling agent. Subsequently exports increased more rapidly than domestic consumption.

Bean curd, or more properly chilled bean curd (the chilled variety is so completely superior that it seems like a different food), was widely used in the late Tokugawa period as part of the meatless diet eaten by devout Buddhists. It was produced chilly in areas near great monasteries. After 1895, manufacture was stimulated by the large-scale importation of soybeans from Manchuria. Like the other products named above, it is widely consumed throughout the country at present.

Canning is thought to have been introduced around 1870 by an American school teacher who canned fruit for his own use. A man named Yamada Kinosuke of Chiba Prefecture is credited with being the first Japanese to imitate him successfully. This was in 1874. Later the head of the Bureau of Industry in the Home Ministry, Ōfuji Shōgorō, who had traveled in America, promoted experiments with canning, but the cans being used at the time were hand-made and very crude.

In Nagasaki as early as 1871 sardines had been canned in oil, and in 1877 the Hokkaidō Development Bureau began manufacturing canned goods and teaching the process to those persons interested. The techniques employed in Nagasaki and Hokkaidō were learned from Frenchmen and Americans. At first only sardines, salmon, and salmon-trout were canned, but later abalone and giant crabs were added to the list. During the Sino-Japanese war, meat was canned for military use, and after the annexation of Formosa canned pineapples from that

area became fairly common.

In Tokyo a company called the Kōnō-sha, which canned fish, meat, fruits, and vegetables, showed a net profit of 30 per cent in 1879, but in areas other than Tokyo and Hokkaidō very little other than fish and seafood was canned.

The main consumers of canned goods were the army and navy, and the expansion of the canning industry occurred primarily during times of war. In 1879 a company in Hiroshima called the Hakushin-sha, which had been advised by a French missionary to take up canning, did so despite the fact that only a limited market existed at the time, and when some years later the Sino-Japanese war broke out, the company was amply rewarded for its enterprise with large orders for canned meat. The North China Affair and the Russo-Japanese war also proved boons to the industry, and since the productive capacity developed during periods of conflict was devoted to domestic market in times of peace, canned goods became available sold in every nook and cranny of the country.

In Hokkaidō whale meat was canned and marketed by the Iwatani Trading Company, distributors of Tengu cigarettes, which advertised that the meat was especially good for those suffering from lung diseases. In addition, the Marine Products Laboratory promoted the canning of fish and the Agricultural Products Laboratory, that of vegetables and condensed milk. At the end of the Meiji period canned salmon and salmon-trout were the most important canned products.

3. BEVERAGES AND LUXURIES

(1) Beer

Beer was first imported from England in 1868 and from Germany in 1871. In only one month 20,000 dozen bottles of German beer were sold, but quite a few of the purchases seem to have been attracted more by the fine bottles than by what was inside them. In 1875, an ice store named the Shinkanaya

in Shimbashi was selling the beverage at ¥2.15 the dozen, and it is most unlikely that anyone would have paid this price if glass bottles had not been at a premium, for at the same time rice was selling for only 10 *sen* a *shō*. Partially due to the fluctuations in the demand for bottles, the volume of beer sales per year was very irregular. The figures for Osaka between 1872 and 1887 are as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount of beer sold</i>
1872	240 <i>koku</i> (<i>koku</i> =39.7 gallons)
1875	880 "
1883	1,312 "
1884	12,763 "
1885	188 "
1888	957 "
1889	1,567 "

Despite these curious sales figures, domestic breweries gradually developed. The first Japanese beer was made by Noguchi Masaaki of Kōfu in 1873. In 1876 the Sapporo Beer Company was established, in Hokkaidō, where barley and hops are plentiful, and in 1880 this firm shipped 850 *koku* of beer to Tokyo. The company was sold in 1886 to Ōkura Kihachirō, and in 1888 it was incorporated, one of the leading stockholders being Shibusawa Ei'ichi. In 1893 the company sold 2,500 *koku* and in 1895, 34,050 dozen bottles of beer. In 1887, however, three or four hundred thousand yen's worth of beer was still being imported, and there was plenty of room for more producers.

The Sakurada Beer Company in the Mita district of Tokyo, the Japan Beer Company in the Meguro district of the same city, and the Osaka Beer Company were all established before or during 1887. The last-named, which hired a German technician to supervise its factory, seems to have been motivated not only by the desire for profit, but by the lofty desire to

give the country a more economical drink than rice wine, to keep out foreign products, and to raise the nation to the cultural level of Europe. "A strong, straight tree free from foreign imports," its advertising ran,—“this is the real way to make Japan rich.”

Japanese beer was entered in foreign contests, and in 1889 one Japanese brand was given a medal of praise at the French International Exhibition.

Officials and military men in brief the people who ate Western food were the largest consumers of beer. In 1892, when army maneuvers were held in Utsunomiya, the Meijiya, a beer firm in Yokohama, rushed to the spot with its wears and reputedly made a killing. The majority of the people, did not care for the beverage, which they found bitter, and it did not really become popular until around 1909, when the first beer halls were established. Still, among foreign food products beer was one of the first to become the basis of a large industry. This was largely because the local product was not materially inferior to the original. Outdated industrial methods prevented the Japanese from producing beet sugar that did not smell and wine that was not sour, but Japanese beer was a success, and it led to the development of a strong new business.

(2) Wine

Whereas from the beginning beer was produced in factories with the support of large capital, wine was first made on a small scale and mostly without the aid of machines. The main reason was that grapes, unlike the grains used to make beer, were new to Japan and, to make matters worse, were comparatively troublesome to grow. They required fertilizing and pruning by methods to which Japanese farmers were unaccustomed; they had to be protected from insects; and they spoiled easily.

The first wine was produced in 1870 in Yamanashi Prefecture, an area already known for its grapes. The makers, when leader was a man named Yamada Hironori, sold their product in the Kyoto-Osaka area. In 1876 Ōfuji Matsugorō returned

from America and commissioned Mr. Yamada of Kōfu to make 10,000 bottles of wine by what were supposed to be proper foreign methods, but the experiment ended in failure. In the same year the government imported 36,000 grape wine sprouts from America and 20,000 from France, and these were distributed all over the country. In Yamanashi Prefecture a wine factory headed by Mr. Ōfuji was established in 1877 as a prefectural project, and in subsequent years wine manufacture was attempted in other localities as well, but often without success. Wine was advertised as a good substitute for sake, on the grounds that wine did not involve the use of valuable rice. The people who took to the beverage usually did so on the theory that it helped the digestion or "made up for blood deficiencies." In 1873 a man named Kawakami Zembei invented a sweet weak wine that suited Japanese tastes, and this is still produced today.

The production of grapes has gradually increased, but it is still carried on largely by small entrepreneurs,

(3) Other alcoholic beverages

The Japanese have long distilled from the dregs of sake a liquor called *shōchū*, which is cheap, relatively flavorless, and very intoxicating. It is drunk by the lower classes, who are not often able to buy sake. In Kagoshima and other places where potatoes are plentiful, a similar liquor is made from them. In premodern times it was not drunk east of the islands off Izu.

Western distilled liquors were taken up by some members of the upper class in the Meiji period, but as a rule these liquors were regarded as medicine and were actually first produced by druggists.

In Nagano around 1880 a fad for Western whisky spread among the middle and upper class, and for a time anyone who served sake to his friends was regarded as an unenlightened boar, but such phenomena were temporary.

(4) Ice

Edward Morse mentions eating shaved ice flavored with sugar and tea in the summer time and points out in this connection that ice sold for as much as 16 *sen* per catty (=1-1/3 lbs.). A cup of shaved ice was sold for one *sen*. The high cost resulted, of course, from the difficulties involved in preserving and transporting natural ice. Tokyo was largely dependent on the mountainous areas of Akagi and Haruna in Gumma Prefecture for its ice supply, and it was only with difficulty that 20,000 catties per day were delivered to the metropolis.

The idea of keeping food fresh with ice was introduced in the early Meiji, and the Nakagawa-ya, which it will be recalled was the first meat market in Tokyo, began operating an ice house. The selling price per catty was 4 *sen*, or only one-fourth that mentioned by Morse, but this reduction did not move many people to start keeping iceboxes.

Osaka received natural ice from the mountains of Kawachi and Settsu, but by 1877 the supply proved insufficient, and an ice factory was established. In 1888 this factory is said to have housed a total of 2,116 tons of ice. This figure suggests that ice was still not widely used except to make cool drinks in the summer.

As the demand increased, ice made in factories often turned out to be unsanitary, and the government often had to warn manufactures. In Tokyo more than 50 of the latter formed an association dedicated to keeping the ice pure.

The summer of 1888 was very hot, and by May 50 or 60 shops selling shaved ice and iced water had opened. In Tokyo the available supply of natural ice was soon sold, and the city had to rely on man-made ice. On August 13, 191,467 catties of the latter were sold at a total of ¥1,914. In 1890, on the other hand, there was an epidemic of cholera, and nobody bought ice. This, incidentally, is testimony to a new concern for sanitation on the part of city dwellers.

After ice factories appeared, the price of ice fell. The cup

of ice for which Morse paid one *sen* now sold half that much. Accordingly sales of ice increased. On July 25, 1893, alone 256,500 (approximately 86 tons) catties of ice were sold in Tokyo.

In the Meiji thirties, the practice of shipping fish packed in ice developed. This was a boon both to fishermen, whose market was thereby increased, and to the people in the inland regions, to whom "fish" had hitherto meant "dried salted fish." Refrigerators first appeared in 1903 at the Fifth National Industrial Exposition. Soon afterward the Tokyo fish market installed cold storage rooms, and presently the Tokyo Refrigerator Corporation was formed to manage them.

In 1888 the Fūgetsudō, one of the pioneer makers of Western pastries began selling ice cream and ice candy in a number of flavors. Cold bottled drinks also appeared on the market as early as 1868 a bottled (beverage) called *ramune* (from "lemonade") was entered in Tokyo, and though it was at first drunk only by foreigners, after 1883 or 1884, Japanese also began drinking it. As time went on, Gingerale, a soda pop, called "cider," and selzer water were put on sale, with varying success. After 1900, *ramune*, "cider," and bottled orangeade grew quite popular, particularly among officials, soldiers, and other persons engaged in modern occupations.

We might observe here that the manufacture of bottled drink, including beer, stimulated the production of glass. Glass had been introduced by the Portuguese centuries before, and a small amount had been produced in the Tokugawa period, but the traditional methods were too crude to meet the new demand for glass containers and, we might add, oil lamp shades. In 1876 the Department of Industry hired English advisers and set up a glass factory in Shinagawa, and in subsequent years many more factories sprang up.

Statistics indicating the expansion of glass manufacture in Osaka during the early Meiji are given below:

GLASS MANUFACTURE IN OSAKA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Houses Engaged</i>	<i>Number of Technicians</i>	<i>Number of Pieces Manu- factured</i>	<i>Revenue Therefrom</i>
1879	6	131	830,335	¥ 30,656
1880	8	127	1,857,865	67,581
1882	10	171	1,471,745	78,980
1884	4	105	1,125,950	223,805
1885	24	366	1,786,938	363,855
1890	122	1,316	2,639,277	1,327,221

At first glass was made mostly by hand, and when manufacturers switched over to a factory system the industry was threatened for a time by over-production. After 1890, however, demand increased, partially as a result of the opening of the Osaka-Tokyo railway line, which created new markets. After 1897, sake and soysauce manufactures began to switch from wooden or ceramic containers to glass bottles.

(5) Ways of Eating

Certain Western foods that harmonized with traditional Japanese meals, as well as others which were eaten separately from meals, were accepted by the Japanese, but neither Western cuisine as a whole nor the Western method of eating was adopted into Japanese households. Even in cities, the usual practice was to serve one or two Western dishes, but to retain the ordinary Japanese setting. A few of the more "enlightened" class, particularly those associated with foreigners, learned to sit in chairs around tables and eat full-course Western dinners, but the genuine undiluted article remained none.

The first Western-style restaurant was the Kaiyō-tei, which was opened in 1870 or 1871, and which catered to foreigners. In 1873 the now famous Seiyō-ken opened near the foreign settlements in Tsukiji, Tokyo, and in 1876, the same house began operating a branch in Ueno Park. The only Japanese customers, it is said, were high government officials and wealthy

society people. In 1878 and 1879 10 more Western restaurants were opened in Tokyo, and still others appeared in the lesser cities. In Morioka the prefectural government sponsored the establishment of one, and the same was probably three in other prefectures as well. But neither the "Italian House" in Niigata, nor the "Brother" in Sendai, nor any other of these places was frequented by the ordinary Japanese masses.

Books on Western cooking appeared, the first being Kanagaki Robun's *Seiyō Ryōri-tsū* (*A complete Knowledge of Western Cuisine*), a translation of a notebook kept by a Japanese who worked for an Englishman in Yokohama. This work contained sections on soups, fish, entrees, boiling and frying, vegetables, cakes and cookies, and so on.

The average Japanese did not begin to eat in places that served Western-style food until they began serving one dish at a time without all the Western trimmings. The following appeared in a serial entitled "Japanese Customs," which ran in the *Jiji Shimpō Newspaper* in 1900:

The most usual types of eating establishments are noodle shops, eel shops, *tempura* shops, *shiruko* shops, serving chicken or beef, small sake shops, and full-fledged restaurants. In addition, everywhere in Japan . . . there are "tea houses" where a customer can rest and eat cakes or, in the summer, ice with lemonade poured over it. In general the eating places aim at one of three things—to fill the customer's stomach, to serve him strong drink, or to entertain him. The people who go into a place merely to eat or drink are usually from the middle or lower class. They frequent the noodle shops, the chicken or beef shops, and the *tempura* shops. The people who go to the small sake shops and cheap restaurants are often of the lowest class—ricksha men, grooms, and the like. Middle and upper-class gentlemen eat and drink in the full-fledged restaurants. Nowadays many people are too busy to wait while the

cooks in such places prepare an exquisite Japanese meal, and the managers have taken to the expedient of serving Western dishes which can be prepared in a hurry.

The following list indicates the distribution of various types of restaurants in Tokyo:

<i>Name of Section</i>	<i>Number of Japanese style Restaurants</i>	<i>Number of Western-style Restaurants</i>	<i>Number of shops Serving Chicken or Beef</i>	<i>Number of Chinese Restaurants</i>
Kōjimachi	7	2	2	—
Kanda	14	7	16	—
Nihombashi	26	6	9	1
Kyōbashi	29	8	9	—
Shiba	10	2	4	—
Azabu	3	4	2	—
Akasaka	4	5	—	1
Yotsuya	8	2	4	—
Ushigome	5	—	2	—
Koishikawa	1	1	1	—
Hongō	5	1	6	—
Shitaya	18	1	5	—
Asakusa	36	—	8	—
Honjo	12	—	5	—
Fukagawa	11	1	2	—
Ebara County	7	—	—	—
Toyotama	3	1	—	—
Kitatoshima	3	1	—	—
Minami Adachi	2	—	—	—
Minami Katsushika	3	—	—	—
Total	207	42	75	2

This indicates that virtually all Western-style restaurants were in the business district or the fashionable residential area. In Asakusa, known as the section of the masses, there was not a

single one. When we say Western foods were adopted by ordinary people, then, we mean only some of the ordinary people.

In 1894 a magazine called *Kōnō Zasshi* began running a monthly series of articles on Western food. In the succeeding months recipes were given for boiled pork and pumpkin, tomato pickles, stewed beef and onions, pork soup, cooked apples, corn, asparagus, stewed potatoes, omelets, ice cream, salad, bread, strawberry jam, and grape jelly. Few of these things, however, appeared on Japanese tables during this period.

(2) Parties and Eating Out

In the past ordinary Japanese rarely gathered together to eat except during festivals or celebrations. The nobles and warriors for their part feasted together more often, but usually on ceremonial occasions when a great deal of formality was preserved. People almost never just got together and ate or drank for the sheer fun of it. In the Meiji period, however, everyone was constantly being thrown together with new people, and there were all sorts of new situations that called for parties where everyone could become acquainted with one another. In official bureaus, business offices, schools, military organizations—everywhere new people were arriving, old friends were leaving, this person graduating, that person getting married. There local assemblies, alumni associations, sports meets, and scholarly societies. The occasions for parties suddenly seemed virtually limitless.

"There has never been such an age for parties,"—said one account of the age. "The prime minister is having a reception here, and the foreign minister is having an evening party there. There is singing at the official residence of the governor of Tokyo in the morning and music at the mansion of the war minister in the evening." In 1883 the Rokumei-kan, a restaurant and ballroom for the idle rich, was established in Hibiya, and the next year saw the opening of the Tokyo club. In April, 1887, Itō Hirobumi sponsored a grand masquerade ball, and in 1888 Foreign Minister Ōkuma invited more than a

thousand people to the Rokumei-kan to celebrate the emperor's birthday. On the following January 21, Hōka University held a huge party to welcome new teachers and send off those who were leaving, and a week later the representatives and employees of the Hongō Ward Assembly had a get-together with landlords in the district. And so on *ad infinitum*. What government officials did the people imitated, and what Tokyo did the provinces tried to do. It is said that the city of Takamatsu parties attended by several hundreds persons were by no means rare in this period. A tremendous amount of work must have gone into the preparations, not to speak of the money that went for food and drink... For at almost all these parties there was drink, and usually a good deal of it. The ancient drinking bout came into its own in this new age, and everywhere there was much exchanging of sake cups.

Many of the parties were held in restaurants, and in general more and more people ate out as time went on. One particular form of eating out requires special mention, namely eating out a lunch box at the noon hour. Lunch boxes became exceedingly common among workers and laborers all over the country, and they led to several important changes in eating habits. The standard contents of the lunch box consisted largely of 2 or 5 large balls of rice, often wrapped in dried seaweed (*nori*), and usually accompanied by pickles or a piece of fish.

Rice prepared for the gruel that in many places constituted breakfast was too wet for the lunch box, and housewives were now forced with preparing a separate boiler of rice every morning. The result was that in most places gruel was abandoned in favor of ordinary rice at the morning meal. After about 1887 vendering about the streets of Tokyo with beans baked in soysauce or other dishes suitable to go with the lunch-box rice.

The box itself, if indeed it was a box and not a basket, was at first made of wood, lacquered wood, or porcelain. As time went on, however, aluminum replaced the other materials.

4. THE CITY AND MODERNIZATION OF EATING HABITS

(1) Aspects of Modernization

As we have stated before, the culture of the West was first imported in the Tokyo-Yokohama and Osaka-Kyoto regions and later transmitted to other districts. The latter step, of course, was no simple matter, since farmers in the outlying villages clung to their old customs, even to the extent of retaining the old lunar calendar and its festivals. However, though in 1873 the farm population was 25,000,000, or 80 per cent of the total population, by 1910, it accounted for only 60.3 per cent. The fact is that while the total population rose from 33,000,000 to more than 50,000,000 in this period, the farm population did not change materially. In other words, there was an increase of 17,000,000 in the number of Japanese who were not connected with agriculture. Naturally, a good majority of these were people who left the farm and went to the cities. In effect, the new government bureaus, industrial plants, and schools, along with the army and navy, absorbed the entire natural population increase from the farming villages.

The cities, formerly populated mostly by samurai, merchants, and artisans, were now full of newcomers from the farms, many of them wide-eyed youngsters living in dormitories or rooming houses. The immigrants in many cases ate all their meals out, and everywhere eating establishments sprang up to feed them. With all these new people, everyone found new friends with whom they went to restaurants, had parties, or exchanged gifts. As people from every part of Japan crowded in Tokyo, and Osaka they were followed by the special foods common to the districts they had left. The importation of all sorts of local cuisine to the cities was spread on by the fact that officials, army personnel, and business men were constantly traveling to and from various sections of the country and acquiring a taste for the cooking there. Thanks to the new transportation

facilities, moreover, new types of cuisine were spreading to the provincial areas. In the areas around the cities farmers were beginning to plant new vegetables to suit new urban's tastes.

A great stimulus to the spread of new eating habits came from the laying of railway lines. Practically no resident of Matsumoto, Nagano Prefecture, had ever seen a fresh fish until 1903, when a railway connecting the city with the coast was opened, but afterward fish was available every day. In 1888 the Tōhoku Line was opened, and subsequently in the summer a carload of watermelons was shipped every day to Fukushima and Sendai, where watermelons could not be grown. The same railway line made it possible for people in the area mentioned to ship pigs to Tokyo, and farmers began overnight to raise more pigs. After Shizuoka was connected with the port of Tsuruga on the Japan Sea, Shizuoka cucumbers were shipped to Vladivostok, and the production of cucumbers increased correspondingly.

The new modes of eating and the new foods were closely connected with city life, and their spread is testimony to the influence of the cities on the provinces, but this influence would have had little practical effect if railroads had not been there to carry the products of the new civilization to the hinterlands. In a very real sense, then, the development of railways affected the eating habits of Japanese all over the country.

5. THE SPREAD OF NEW FOODS AND EATING HABITS TO THE PROVINCES

a. General Trends

Farmers read about the new culture in newspapers and books, but reading is not the same as experiencing, and the new eating and drinking practices did not really penetrate into the rural areas until country people actually tried them.

In this respect, the experience gained by young people in city

schools and in the new conscripted army was most important. During the Sino-Japanese war, Japanese soldiers in Korea ate meat for the noon and evening meals almost every day and consumed incidentally a good deal more fat and proteins than the ordinary Japanese. In the Home for Disabled Soldiers in 1909, the weekly menu called for eggs 8 times, beef 3 times, pork once, omelet once, pork cutlet once, and fish 8 times. In addition rice and vegetables were liberally served. Some criticized this diet as too plentiful, even though it was intended for the men who had fought in the Russo-Japanese war, and indeed it was better than the average Japanese diet. At the same time the menu for one dormitory in the Japan Women's University regularly included such items as bread, soup, oatmeal, creamed onions, toast, sweet potatoes, and cocoa for breakfast, Japanese food for lunch, and bread, omelet, salad, boiled pork, clear soup, and *sushi* for dinner. This would indicate that the young ladies were eating even better than the disabled veterans, but this was largely due to the fact that girls in the university at that time were mostly from upper-class urban families.

The question that concerns us here, however, is to what extent the new diet had spread to the rural areas. In the village of Kurohane, Gumma Prefecture, the average amount spent per person for living expenses in 1910 was itemized as follows⁽¹⁾:

This village was engaged in sericulture and the manufacture of thread and was therefore connected to money economy at a fairly early date, but as the following figures show, the only items in the diet that were probably new in the Meiji period were eggs, milk, and sugar. Furthermore the average amount spent on these was very small and no doubt represents only a small number of upper-class members of the community.

In the Mitsui district of Fukuoka in 1902 the total number of families was 600, of which 341 were engaged in farming, 124 in commerce, 70 in industry, and 65 in other work. The number of families consuming various types of food was as follows⁽²⁾:

FOOD AND DRINK

(1)	Clothing	¥2.65
	Clothing accessories	.73
	Residence	.02
	Rice or grain	16.15
	Fruit	.10
	Bean paste	1.37
	Sugar	.32
	Fish	.48
	Eggs	.43
	Cakes and other confections	.23
	Milk	.07
	Tea	.20
	Vegetables	3.36
	Salt	.36
	Soysauce	1.12
	Sake	1.45
	Tobacco	.53
	Pickles	.43
	Other food	.13
	Total :	32.10

(2)	Eggs	600 families
	<i>Ramune</i>	400 "
	Meat	300 "
	Duck	200 "
	Beer	40 "
	Milk	15 "
	Wine	10 "
	Grapes	10 "
	Potatoes	10 "

This indicates that eggs, *Ramune*, and meat were fairly common, but that other items were consumed only by a small proportion of the population, as in the case of Kurohone. We shall take up the question of just who the consumers were in a later section, but we should like to observe here that changes

in the such basic facets of life as the regular everyday diet involved changes in means of production and in the social organization as well. In this connection, the distribution of various types of work in the provinces is important. In Imba County, Chiba Prefecture, which is near Tokyo, of a population of 114,604, those engaged in new occupations included 689 officials, 260 education, 78 company employees, 313 ricksha men, 771 wagon drivers, 837 handcart pullers, 7 bicycle salesman or repairmen, 7 watchmakers, 5 tinsmiths, 27 tailors, 4 hatmakers, 15 shoemakers, 23 barbers, 3 printers, and 2 umbrella men. Almost all of these people lived in the relatively large towns of Sakura, Narita, and Shirai, and even in the old castle town of Iwatsuki there were only 131 persons engaged in new occupations. We must infer, then, that the small number of persons who consumed new foods and beverages in rural districts were precisely those who were working in new businesses and professions. The ground had been broken for the transplanting new eating habits, but it is clear from the figures given that not many of the new soldiers or students had actually taken the ways of the city back to the farm.

b. Specific Foods and Beverages

In 1900 there were 1,396 slaughterhouses in the country, and a total of 233,385 steers or cows were slaughtered. The prefectures in which more than 5,000 were killed were Tokyo, Hyōgo, Osaka, Hiroshima, Kanagawa, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, Kyoto, Kagoshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, Ehime and Okayama. Most of them contained a large city, but there is a sprinkling of western prefectures in which this was not the case. One reason for this was no doubt that a majority of the nation's cattle were raised in the western regions, but even if the number of horses slaughtered be added, the total for the west is higher, though horses were more common in the east. It therefore appears that meat-eating was simply more widely

accepted in the west. According to the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period*, the only people interviewed who could remember eating meat prior to 1877 were from the towns in Kagoshima, Miyazaki, and Kumamoto Prefectures or from Ayabe and Kanazawa.

In the decade between 1877 and 1887, the practice of eating meat spread to many other areas. In the city of Karatsu beef was first served around 1885, and in the village of Futaiwa, Ehime Prefecture, members of the Eta class began to sell meat in 1887. In the same year meat was adopted by residents of Inō Village, Kōchi Prefecture, but old people refused to eat it on religious grounds. In the town of Ōshima, Yamaguchi, in 1886 there was a great hue and cry when it became known that a doctor had fed beef to an old woman next door to him on the pretense that it was chicken. Evidently it will be observed, in this area chicken had already been accepted. An old diary preserved in the same district mentions an expenditure of 4.2 sen for meat on January 20, 1889. An old woman in the village of Hirai, also in Yamaguchi, recalled having eaten meat in 1881. In the Tamba district meat was eaten in 1877, but only outdoors, where the door would not contaminate the house. Chicken had been accepted into the diet earlier.

By 1897 beef was eaten in Kyoto and nearly all areas west of Kyoto except places in which the Buddhist Shin Sect was strong. In Kantō, on the other hand, beef was not generally accepted until after around 1902, and in some places where the Shin Sect was popular much later. Horse meat usually came later than beef.

Most people began eating meat not in the home but in commercial eating places. Where restaurants did not exist, however, beef sometimes met with surprisingly quick acceptance into the home. In the west, where cattle were fairly numerous, the government's recommendation was enough to move many people to adopt beef, whether or not they had been exposed to urban life. It is probably safe to conclude that the consumption

of beef spread in general from west to east.

Milk was somewhat slower than beef to find acceptance, but thanks to promotion by doctors, when it was adopted, it was adopted uniformly all over the country. Still, it was consumed primarily by babies and sick people. In some places it was bottled and delivered by the dairy, but in the majority of rural areas, this was not the case until the Taishō period.

In many districts eggs were eaten prior to the Meiji period, but in many others they were not. Those where they were not extended all over the country and included Oseko (Iwate Prefecture), Wakimoto (Akita), Takasaki, Gyōda, Namerigawa (Toyama), Hōryō (Ishikawa), Ōtsu, Yagi (Kyoto Prefecture), Ayabe, Miyake (Osaka), Naruto (Tokushima), Hama (Kumamoto), and Iriki (Kagoshima). Almost invariably the reason for not eating eggs was a religious taboo. After the Restoration eggs became a part of the general diet, and as early as 1877 people in the vicinity of Osaka began raising chickens for the express purpose of marketing eggs.

The national demand for fruits of various sorts began to increase conspicuously around 1897, no doubt stimulated by the development of railroads, which made it possible to ship fresh fruit over long distances. The importance of the railway in this respect is illustrated, for example, by the fact that apples and bananas were first eaten in the Tamba region in 1901-2, just at the time when the Osaka-Maizuru railroad was opened, while tangerines, which are produced in western Japan, first entered the north-eastern prefecture of Toyama in 1907, not long after the opening of the Hokuriku Line of the national railway system.

The adoption of bread in the provinces was intimately connected with the spread of schools. In Tokyo around 1886 primary students on occasion carried bread instead of rice in their lunch boxes, and bread was served to students at the Yamagata Normal School after 1889. In the First Women's High School in Kyoto bread was used as a substitute for rice at the noon

day meal after 1890. Similarly, schools in Gumma, Kagawa, and Morioka began serving bread in the years between 1892 and 1897. Schools aside, it is reported that in the town of Kitsuregawa, Tochigi Prefecture, an American missionary served bread and biscuits to his flock, but thereby touched off an anti-Christian movement among the people of the vicinity.

The construction of a military camp in any district usually led to the appearance of bread in the local stores. In a number of instances soldiers on the move were recorded to have been issued bread to carry along for lunch.

Often people began eating bread for their health. In Shiro-yama-mura, Tochigi Prefecture, it was recommended for sick people and women in child-birth, while in Kyoto it was eaten as a cure for beriberi. In Sata-mura, Shimane Prefecture, when a case of typhoid fever appeared, bread was obtained in Matsue for the patient. In Fukuchiyama during the late Meiji a few wealthy people habitually had bread and coffee for breakfast, and well-to-do residents of the city of Kuwana are recorded to have spread butter on their bread.

The adoption of bread was more rapid after the invention of the *ampan*, a bun stuffed with a sweet jam made from lentils. The *ampan* quickly became popular in many provincial districts, usually as a sweet rather than a staple. It was put on sale in railway stations in 1905, and this contributed to its further spread. The *kasutera*, a type of cake introduced in Nagasaki by early European visitors, became popular all over the country after 1897, and the English biscuit was widely adopted as a food for children around the same time.

Candy drops were first imported from England in 1893, and they seem to have spread immediately to places along the railway lines. An account written by a resident of Mizusawa-machi, Iwate Prefecture, tells of the writer shaving being bent to a store to buy them in the Meiji thirties. Like many other items, they reached the northeast relatively early, since that area was connected with Tokyo by rail. Drops were not introduced to

western Japan until the Taishō and Shōwa periods.

Canned goods were used in the rural areas after 1887. Often they were first introduced in army units and then taken up by local officials. As a rule, people regarded them as good to take as presents, to feed to sick people, and to serve to guests, but did not eat them at ordinary meals. Canned goods are known to have been eaten in the cities of Takasaki and Kōchi in 1890, in Uchigō-mura, Kanagawa Prefecture, in Toyosato-mura, Nagano Prefecture, at the Kyoto First High School for Women, and in Ōshima, Yamaguchi Prefecture, in 1894 or 1895. In Yanagii, on the opposite shore from the city last named, a factory was set up with workmen from Osaka to can meat and fish. Canned meat was produced in some quantity during and after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, and in the Meiji thirties it was consumed in areas throughout the country. In 1899, when the principal of the Kanagawa Prefectural Normal School made an inspection of the primary school in Tsukui-gun, he took along an empty can and explained it to the students. This sort of thing must have contributed a good deal to the spread of canned foods.

At first people opened canned goods with kitchen knives, but later can openers were introduced. By the end of Meiji, in addition to fish and meat, shell-fish and pineapples were being canned and were to be found in many food stores, but canned foods were still not used as everyday staples, nor were they to be found in the houses of most ordinary people.

The spread of beer came after 1887. It is said to have been drunk in Ōseko-machi, Iwate Prefecture, much earlier, but this was only because a tobacco merchant in the vicinity bought a small quantity from a foreigner in Yokohama. In Iwayado-machi in the same prefecture, beer was served at a party for officials in 1887, and in Iriki-machi, Kagoshima Prefecture, it was served in restaurants around 1890 to business men who gathered there for a conference. In 1897 it was also served by restaurants in Hama-machi, Kumamoto Prefecture, Himejima,

Ōita Prefecture, and Yokose-machi, Tokushima Prefecture. In 1893 it was drunk at a farewell party for army recruits in Hōryū-machi, Ishikawa Prefecture, and in 1897 in Ubeno-mura, Tottori Prefecture, when an army regiment was established there. It is recorded to have been used at festivals in Tsubata-machi, Ishikawa Prefecture in 1889. in Inabu-mura, Kōchi Prefecture in 1897, and in the city of Ichinomiya, Aichi Prefecture in 1893. In Ichinomiya a religious lecturer who liked beer bought two bottles, drank one, and gave the other to people at his lecture, but they did not like it because it was bitter. In other districts beer as a rule became popular after 1905 among rich people and those who liked to try new things, notable officials and young people. It was also often served to special guests. By 1905 in Ōshima beer was considered a proper gift to take when going on a visit.

Wine was introduced in the provinces around the same time as beer, but consumed in comparatively small quantities. Often it was used primarily as a stimulant for sick people and sold in drugstores.

Cigarettes generally were adopted after 1887, but they are reported as early as 1877 in the city of Naruto, Tokushima Prefecture, and in Ōmama-machi, Gumma Prefecture. In the latter case they are said to have come packed in glass boxes three by seven centimeters in size and to have been sold in a store dealing in Western goods. No doubt these were imported cigarettes.

In the Meiji twenties cigarettes are reported to have been used by rich men, tobaccoists, restaurateurs, and innkeepers in Ōseko, Iwate Prefecture; by doctors, salaried men contractors, and geisha in Iwayado-machi, Iwate Prefecture; by students and geisha in Yachi-machi, Yamagata Prefecture; by working men and waitresses in Kitsuregawa-machi, Tochigi Prefecture; and by people in general in the city of Kanazawa. In some instances it is recorded that people smoked when they went out to visit or to have a good time, but not on ordinary

occasions. Many examples indicate that rich people were the first to take up cigarettes.

Several brands of cigarettes were put on the market by Japanese companies prior to 1904, but in that year production was monopolized by the government. By the end of Meiji, cigarettes were in use all over the country. They were not, however, popular among old people or women (except entertainers and waitresses), who as a rule preferred cut tobacco in old-fashioned pipes. Cigars were hardly known outside of Tokyo.

c. Western Cuisine

Western-style restaurants were slow to appear in rural areas, since there was little demand for Western food. Nevertheless, one was opened as early as 1881 in the city of Morioka under the auspices of the prefectural government and patronized largely by officials. Western restaurants appeared in Kanazawa and Kōfu in 1887. In several places, such as Kokura and Maizuru, such restaurants resulted from the opening of a military base nearby, whereas in others, such as Utsunomiya, they followed the opening of railway lines. In Nikkō, they were built as a result of the increased flow of sightseers from Tokyo. They were to be found in the capitals of several prefectures after 1897 and in many provincial cities by 1905. In many of the smaller cities in western Japan, however, they did not appear until the Taishō period, and in general they were most common in areas near Tokyo. We should also observe that many of the local restaurants were described as Western primarily because they were not Japan. A few had proper Western cuisine, but most others could manage only a few Western dishes of varying quality.

Most country people first tasted Western food in one of these provincial Western-style restaurants. Nomura Kodō remembers that at a middle-school graduation party for Kindaichi

Kyōsuke, given by the latter's sister at the restaurant in Morioka, he (Nomura) had his first taste of curried rice. The dish is now perhaps the most common of all foreign-inspired foods, but Nomura regards this event as one of the most unforgettable in his life. Most recorded instances of rural people eating Western food in this period mention such dishes as pork cutlets, hash and rice, beef-steak, omelettes, and fried eggs.

Western food was served at some school dormitories. An old woman in the town of Sonobe, for example, remembers having eaten omelettes, fried food, and stew when she attended the Kyoto First High School for Women, and a man in Ayabe says he ate curried rice and omelettes at the Katsura School of Forestry.

Western cuisine was adopted into a small number of private homes at a very early date. A Tokyo man living in Maebashi, for example, had his wife prepare omelettes, cutlets, and croquets for guests in the Meiji twenties, and a resident of Yachimachi, Yamagata Prefecture, recalls that in 1894 he ate Western food prepared by a friend who had learned to make it in Sendai. In Karatsu, a few women learned how to make bread, biscuits, and cake from a missionary's wife in 1901 or 1902, and one of them, at least, served bread instead of rice to her family once a day for several years afterward.

On the other hand, Western dishes were rarely incorporated into ordinary everyday meals, and in general they were very slow to be accepted into ordinary Japanese households. During and after World War I they became somewhat more common, thanks largely to the efforts of schools and lecturers, but even so only the dishes that happened to go well with Japanese food were adopted on a wide scale.

d. Conclusion

Food became more abundant in the Meiji period, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and there was an accompanying

increase in the use of cooking oils and various types of spices. There was in general more room to pick and choose among various foods, and appetites became more varied. At first the differences in climate and consequently in capacity for food production between northeastern and western areas were evident in the accounts of types of food consumed, but the expansion of the army, as well as the spread of schools and industrial installations, gradually decreased these variations. Railways increased movement from place to place on the part of the general public and consequently played an important part in this connection. In the large cities, by the end of the Meiji period foods from all over the country, as well as Chinese and Western dishes, were almost superabundant. One could eat practically anything, provided one had the money to pay for it. There is no doubt but that eating became more pleasant and interesting for many people during this age.

Throughout the period, however, rice continued to be regarded as the ideal principal food, and the new foods introduced were looked upon as auxiliary to the main diet. Even bread did not find favor until it was altered to the form of the *ampan*, which tasted something like Japanese cakes. In other words, the new foods were by and large thought of as items that could be done without if one did not have the money to buy them, and people of no more than average means served them primarily during the *bon* and New Year seasons and when important guests called.

In rural communities many new foods, though in a sense available, were beyond the economic reach of all but a very few farmers. Furthermore, though in the cities living standards were generally better, there were many families who afforded new or luxurious foods only on very special occasions, notably when they were forced to do so to maintain face, as for example during weddings or funerals. Many men developed the habit of eating well when out with friends or business associated, but economizing on everyday household food.

There were more parties and feasts, and there was much more exchanging of presents the latter as a rule consisting of food of one sort or another. New opportunities to eat out were constantly presenting themselves. Outside the home, then, eating habits no doubt grew more luxurious than before. It is likely, however, than this very fact meant that the money for everyday food at home was limited, and one suspects that ordinary eating habits changed far less than it would appear on the surface.

Chapter Four

HOUSES AND BUILDINGS

1. THE BEGINNING OF WESTERNIZATION

DR. Ōkuma Yoshikuni, an eminent student of Japanese architectural history, has remarked that Meiji was a period of public architecture, and this is indeed quite true, since the principal new structures were all government buildings, schools, factories, and office buildings. Needless to say, the principal innovation was the introduction of Western modes, and residential architecture proved more resistant to these than the large buildings housing activities associated with the modernization movement. Actually, most of the principal edifices were built or sponsored by the government, which was deliberately trying to give the country a modern Western look, and anyway even without direct government sponsorship, Western structures of glass, brick, and cement were necessary if Japan was to build a Western-style defense system and a Western-style economy. Moreover, a further motive was present in the form of a strong desire to revise the unequal treaties with foreign countries. The Europe and America of the nineteenth century would never have relented on this score if Japan had not at least shown signs of accepting what Europeans and Americans considered to be modern buildings with modern facilities and modern sanitation. At the same time, the average Japanese apparently felt little urge to sit on chairs instead of *tatami* or to exchange sliding doors for swinging ones, and except for the installation of what were described as "foreign-style" rooms in the houses

of the well-to-do, residential architecture did not change materially in the Meiji period.

The first attempt to construct a Western-style building seems to have occurred in 1861, when the shogunate decided to build two iron foundries to produce metal for armaments. Thirty-two technicians and workers were hired from France to take charge of the construction. The shogunate collapsed before the foundries were put into operation, but the Frenchmen continued on the job under the new government. It is very likely that many Japanese learned something of Western construction methods from them. The first minister and ambassadors lived in Buddhist temples, but the English soon began constructing a Western-style embassy in the Goten-yama section of Edo. A two-story wooden structure with tile roof, when completed in 1862, it was probably the first building of its kind in Japan. Unfortunately it was burned down by anti-foreigners before it could be put to use.

Construction work was particularly heavy in the ports opened to foreign trade, partly because of the trade itself and partly because of the presence of a relatively large number of foreigners. In Yokohama an Englishman named Keffick built a two-story frame building in the area designated for foreign settlers, and soon afterward a large hall was erected next door for American residents in the district. The demand for land increased almost daily, and a whole group of farmers were moved to make room for what was to become the bust Motomachi district. More and more foreigners were arriving, and among them were several architects who came to build shops and houses for the others. Japanese architects, carpenters, and house-fitters began to imitate them and then to compete with them and with each other for the new orders flooding in. A number of disputes arose among the Japanese contractors, however, and eventually the government charged a few of them with handling all construction for foreigners and forbade the other from accepting such work.

One of the leading Japanese construction concerns was the Shimizu Construction Company, whose second president, Shimizu Yoshisuke, built a three-story building for the firm in 1866. The structure was the wonder of its district, and was referred to by the local populace as the *hoteru*, a Japanese pronunciation of the English "hotel." In 1867, Shimizu who had presumably learned his methods from foreign architects, was commissioned by the shogunate to build a real Western-style hotel for foreigners in the foreign settlement in Tokyo. The shogunate did not live to see this project completed, but Shimizu finished the building on his own.

The Meiji government, pressed for funds, tried at first to operate its offices in the old mansions of daimyōs, but this soon proved impracticable, and Western-style government buildings were begun on a large scale. Special bureaus were established to supervise the work, and foreign experts were invited to Japan to act as technical advisers. Departments of architecture were established in the government's Industrial College and later in the College of Art.

The first important government building in the Western-style was a new mint begun in 1868 in connection with a proposed change to a new currency. Foreign architects were employed and foreign coining equipment was purchased almost new from Hong Kong, where a mint had been established a short time before, but soon abolished. Unfortunately, the building burned once before it was completed, and was not actually opened until 1871.

In that year, the Mitsui Group appointed by the government to handle the changeover to the new money, contributed to the changing scenery to Tokyo by constructing a five-story wooden building in which they proposed to house a bank. As it turned out, however, the government, having sent Itō Hirobumi and others to America to study the banking system there decided to establish a national banking system, and the Mitsui were not permitted at this time to open a private bank. In their

stead therefore the first National Bank occupied the new building, which had already become one of the sights of Tokyo. The Mitsui in turn built for themselves a new three-story building with porches on the first two floors and a balcony on the third. This structure was also famous in its days.

The new customs houses were all made in the Western fashion, and when the first railway was constructed in 1872, Western-style terminals were erected at Shimbashi and Yokohama. Constructed by an English architect the buildings were identical. They had a stone exterior, but the basic structure was of wood. This type of structure, incidentally, was popular for a time, but frame buildings, and later brick buildings, were more common.

Almost all of the important buildings were designed by and built under the supervision of foreign architects. The latter came principally from Germany, England, France, the United States, and Italy, and as a rule they employed and taught the styles prevailing at the time in their individual countries. As a result, the important new buildings of the period, though all "Occidental," represented a wide variety of styles. The common feature of them was that they were designed without reference to special features of Japanese topography and climate, and therefore had little or no connection with their surroundings. Generally speaking, if the buildings harmonized with their setting or even with each other, it has a happy accident.

The more important structures designed by foreign architects included the Foreign Ministry, the Ueno Museum, the official residences of the War and Navy Ministers, the Rokumei-kan, the Law and Literature Sections of the Tokyo Imperial University, the Headquarters of the Army General Staff, the Mitsubishi Warehouse, the German and British Embassies, and mansions belonging to Princes Arisuga and Kitashirakawa.

The government created a Ministry of Works in 1870, and a Department of Construction in the Finance Ministry in 1874. The Bureau of Building and Repairs, established in 1875 planned

and built a number of outstanding foreign-style edifices between that time and 1884, when it was reduced to a supervisory status.

Thanks to the building practices of the Meiji period, Japanese grew accustomed to working in Western-style buildings while living in Japanese-style houses. Life became that much more complicated, but the general public seems to have been satisfied with the situation. Western architecture has still not replaced translation residential styles—on the contrary Japanese styles have in recent years attracted the attention of Western architects—but partially as a result of a public building projects in the Meiji period, certain features of Western construction gradually worked their way into Japanese homes.

2. RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE MEIJI PERIOD

Reorganization of City Wards and the Construction of Shops

On the twenty-sixth day of the second month of 1872, a fire that broke out at the Wadakura Gate to the Imperial Palace, spread toward Tokyo Bay and destroyed an area stretching as far as Kyōbashi and Tsukiji. The mansions of a number of daimyōs, as well as the hotel for foreigners in Tsukiji burned to the ground. The government took this opportunity to promote the construction of modern fireproof buildings by the people, and on the seventh and thirteenth days of the third month specific instructions concerning the widening of streets and the construction of brick buildings in the area were issued. By June 10, 1873, there was a broad street lined with brick structures from Kyōbashi to Shimbashi. *The Chronology of Edo, Continued* (*Bukō Nempyō, Zokuhen*) recounts this development as follows:

In order that houses in the capital might withstand fire, the government ordered the people to build with bricks according to detailed instructions furnished by the Englishman, Waters. The construction began along the wide street

that passes Ginza Owari-chō and Takegawa-machi. In that year the street itself was broadened to a width of 90 feet. The middle was reserved for horses and vehicles, and the 2 sides for pedestrians. Trees were planted between the central lane and the sidewalks.

The *Record of New Prosperity in the Eastern Capital* (*Tōto Shinhanjō-ki*) said, "Lines of two-storied builds reached up to the sky on both sides." Before long the interval between Kyōbashi and Shimbashi came to be known as the "brick district."

When the order for this construction work was first issued people complained that it would ruin business to make the streets so wide, that the whole city would be turned into streets. But all in all the brick buildings were built on the new street with relative dispatch, and in 1877 gas streetlights were set up along the way.

Insides the alleys and byways it was a different story, simply because people did not do enough business in such places to pay the construction costs. The government agreed to advance loans for 10 years, but still many families cleared out, house, godown, and all. There was a good deal of confusion, and the government eventually had to release a plot of its own land for those who had been displaced. It also paid for the building of new streets, wells, and sewage facilities for these people.

Despite the government's resolve, the "brick district" was not a success. The buildings were not suited to the climate, and to make matters worse, they had been thrown up in too much of hurry. In no time at all most of them were vacant. Ogihara Yūsenshi, who was about 13 at this time, later reminiscenced as follows:

I first came from Shizuoka to Tokyo in 1873.... By that time Ginza Street had been almost completely rebuilt, but the buildings were shabby.... They looked like so many storehouses. No one lived in the ones facing the street..., and since the street was empty, it was occupied

1. THE NUMBER OF WOODEN HOUSES IN TOKYO

Distriction	1886	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915
Kōjimachi	10,407	7,820	8,792	9,193	9,438	11,203	1,576
Kanda	14,773	<i>13,400</i>	17,568	17,906	18,726	18,126	18,239
Nihombashi	83,765	83,660	31,697	31,721	31,881	27,334	<i>18,743</i>
Kyōbashi	16,132	16,588	16,918	17,892	<i>13,331</i>	20,877	20,303
Shiba	<i>8,333</i>	8,349	16,893	19,338	20,476	23,416	27,538
Azabu	10,308	<i>6,033</i>	7,391	8,395	9,762	12,870	<i>13,557</i>
Akasaka	<i>1,935</i>	5,462	5,392	6,756	7,565	10,724	<i>11,407</i>
Yotsuya	<i>5,524</i>	5,981	6,198	6,800	8,243	9,652	9,260
Ushigome	<i>7,711</i>	10,515	10,564	13,888	17,325	16,784	18,912
Koishikawa	<i>5,662</i>	7,756	9,344	9,620	12,324	17,338	20,933
Hongō	<i>4,005</i>	14,123	11,638	12,356	15,004	16,815	20,025
Shitaya	<i>10,006</i>	13,073	12,508	15,592	17,641	26,562	26,451
Asakusa	<i>16,045</i>	21,741	19,472	22,139	25,167	29,798	31,617
Honjo	20,998	<i>17,408</i>	18,945	19,258	21,650	26,405	30,278
Fukagawa	<i>9,574</i>	10,928	12,984	13,706	15,723	21,232	23,242
Total :	225,179	252,837	<i>206,304</i>	224,506	244,256	289,136	305,727

Italic figures show minimum numbers and

Gothic figures show maximum numbers

before long by entertainers—who had wrestling bears, a woman who walked over fire and so on. Second and third-rate houses were turned into private schools by English teacher.... My teacher lived in one empty brick house. There at a great table, we learned English history or studied on our own.... A number of such schools were alone virtually holding up the bricks, and there was no business at all except along the main street.... The Ginza was about like that until the Sino-Japanese war, but then everything changed.

On August 5, 1875, the government, in the person of the Home Minister, relented and permitted the constructions of old-style buildings. The experiment had ended in failure, but perhaps not completely so, since brick buildings did gradually

2. THE NUMBER OF PLASTERED HOUSES

Distriction	1886	1890	1895	1900	1095	1910	1915
Kōjimachi	798	<i>679</i>	690	742	752	761	865
Kanda	3,091	<i>2,970</i>	3,340	3,688	3,735	3,787	3,640
Nihombashi	10,930	11,017	11,683	1,673	1,633	<i>689</i>	6,875
Kyōbashi	3,554	3,655	3,691	3,725	2,388	3,185	2,930
Shiba	<i>535</i>	2,461	1,337	1,413	1,385	1,377	1,342
Azabu	<i>248</i>	601	685	591	663	563	524
Akasaka	367	421	373	376	377	353	327
Yotsuya	<i>459</i>	534	561	576	523	602	508
Ushigome	535	<i>453</i>	537	573	612	666	676
Koishikawa	<i>456</i>	477	458	474	476	502	567
Hongō	<i>196</i>	1,701	929	898	957	995	950
Shitaya	721	<i>681</i>	959	962	1,009	1,208	944
Asakusa	<i>1,898</i>	2,083	2,229	2,292	2,321	2,328	2,252
Honjo	<i>754</i>	1,092	1,115	1,007	1,019	1,070	1,027
Fukagawa	<i>714</i>	1,427	1,424	1,478	1,533	1,777	1,264
Total:	25,231	30,252	30,011	30,468	<i>19,378</i>	19,823	24,762

Italic figures show minimum numbers and

Gothic figures show maximum numbers.

begin to appear in other sections than the Ginza area. Nevertheless, as the accompanying statistics show, wooden buildings or plaster godowns continued to constitute a large majority of the buildings.

We have not given a table showing the totals, in Tokyo but it is clear from the other tables that the total number of buildings increased continually between 1895 and 1915.

In general, these figures reflect the increasing influx of people into Tokyo. The wards showing the largest rise were Kōjimachi, Shiba, Azabu, Akasaka, Ushigome, Koishikawa, Hongō, Asakusa, Honjo, and Fukagawa. In Kyōbashi, Yotsuya, and Shitaya, the number reduced after 1910, and in Kanda and Nihombashi the peak was passed even earlier. This is probably because these areas changed commercial districts and no longer

3. THE NUMBER OF STONE HOUSES

Distriiction	1888	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915
Kōjimachi	<i>12</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>78</i>
Kanda	<i>46</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>176</i>	<i>219</i>	<i>248</i>	<i>254</i>	<i>184</i>
Nihombashi	<i>642</i>	<i>664</i>	<i>705</i>	<i>678</i>	<i>681</i>	<i>540</i>	<i>214</i>
Kyōbashi	<i>306</i>	<i>325</i>	<i>334</i>	<i>656</i>	<i>312</i>	<i>424</i>	<i>416</i>
Shiba	<i>139</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>145</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>168</i>
Azabu	<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>49</i>
Akasaka	<i>4</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>31</i>
Yotsuya	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>44</i>
Ushigome	<i>2</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>31</i>
Koishikawa	<i>3</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>44</i>
Hongō	<i>1</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>64</i>
Shitaya	<i>5</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>73</i>
Asakusa	<i>27</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>150</i>
Honjo	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>140</i>
Fukagawa	<i>3</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>79</i>
Total:	<i>1,204</i>	<i>1,274</i>	<i>1,598</i>	<i>2,133</i>	<i>1,911</i>	<i>2,222</i>	<i>1,767</i>

Italic figures show minimum numbers and

Gothic figures show maximum numbers.

had room for small dwellings. In the same areas, it will be observed, the total number of frame buildings decreased after a certain point, while the number of brick and stone buildings increased.

The decline and subsequent rise in the number of plaster buildings reflect the fact that whereas shops and residences to be built of plaster, after 1915 there was an increasing number of plaster storehouses. The decline in the number of stone buildings, on the other hand, probably that stone was being replaced by concrete.

There is no way of knowing the extent to which Tokyo stores and shops were Westernized, but it must have been considerable. It is likely also that as in case of government buildings, purely Western styles were adopted just as they were, with no thought

4. THE NUMBER OF BRICK HOUSES

Districition	1886	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915
Kōjimachi	21	42	59	90	101	128	543
Kanda	43	185	301	396	411	458	452
Nihombashi	18	74	225	259	301	271	652
Kyōbashi	1,279	1,316	1,332	1,420	1,520	1,697	1,644
Shiba	332	114	224	327	381	185	438
Azabu	3	8	41	78	92	111	152
Akasaka	5	33	41	59	62	70	105
Yotsuya	3	4	9	35	39	49	75
Ushigome	3	20	44	59	72	96	133
Koishikawa	2	19	31	58	72	91	177
Hongō	3	10	65	87	116	118	228
Shitaya	4	35	56	97	141	244	196
Asakusa	9	35	119	144	156	167	256
Honjo	3	23	45	149	174	217	329
Fukagawa	2	28	135	186	201	213	944
Total:	1,630	1,946	2,728	3,444	3,839	4,113	6,315

Italic figures show minimum numbers and
Gothic figures show maximum numbers.

of their suitability to local conditions or the lack thereof. As a matter of fact, old styles were still very much in evidence. An actual shop, that of the Shimizu Construction Gang, as it appeared in 1894, is described in the following:

There are not many records concerning the old plaster-covered shop in Hongoku-chō, but a description by Asai Chōjirō, who entered the company in 1894, gives some idea of its appearance just before it burned down.

The shop had much of flavor of the Edo period. The Shimizu Company had obtained it in 1875 from a sugar wholesaler. . . . It looked very much like the Echigo Shop in front of Mitsukoshi in Kiyochika's print—the one with the curtains hanging in front of the door and the store's impressive crest dyed on them. . . . The second floor had

windows and was therefore safe from without. The ground floor was open, but in case of a fire in the neighborhood there were copper-covered wooden shutters that the employees could put in place. On the second floor there was a place for the employees and apprentices to sleep. It was an oldstyle room with no ceiling. The beams were made of zelkova wood and were so big and broad that the apprentices could crawl about and play on them.

The following describes a store operated by the Hokurikan, a publishing firm:

The store was moved to a building at No.14 Kurayamachi, Kyōbashi (now No. 14, 4-chōme, Ginza) on April 1, 1894. The rent at that time was ¥ 8.50. The house seemed much larger than the old one at Minamikon'yamachi. Downstairs there was an 8-mat room (one mat equals approximately 18 square feet), 2 six-mat rooms, a room with a wooden floor, and, behind that, a kitchen and a toilet. Upstairs there were two 8-mat rooms, one 6-mat room and a storage attic. It was a plastered.

In 1894, when Fujiwara Ginjirō took charge of the Fukagawa branch of the Mitsui Bank, the ensuing changes were described as follow:

The building in Fukagawa was appalingly old-fashioned. There was a little lattice enclosure (with *tatami*) where bank personnel dealt with customers. Mr. Fujiwara himself at first dressed in a kimono with a stiff formal obi, but later he took exception to the old styles and had chairs and tables installed. He also began to wear a suit to work. The customers in Honjo and Fukagawa must have been quite surprised.

New Prosperity in the Eastern Capital had the following to say of Tokyo stores:

Merchants of Nihombashi still work in dimly lit plaster buildings, and they even preserve old styles and old ideas

in their business. . . . Thus Nihombashi, with its rows of oldstyle plastered houses and its blackish, dull-colored buildings, retains the color and nostalgia of old Edo.

Actually, many plaster-covered buildings dating from the Tokugawa were still standing until 1923, when the great earthquake and fire wiped them out of existence.

Fires were numerous in the Meiji period, and it is very likely that most of Edo-period buildings were destroyed even before 1923, but fires are sudden things, and only in the case of the huge disasters of 1872 and 1923 did the government find itself with an opportunity to rezone and re-style the city. Even today the plan of the city retains some features of the Tokugawa period. The rapid extension of streetcar lines did much to broaden the streets, however, and in many instances lanes formerly so narrow that two handcars had trouble passing each other on them were widened into thoroughfares 100 feet wide or more. According to Ogawa Tetsunosuke, an aged book dealer who has since 1900 lived in Jimbō-chō, Kanda, when the streetcar line between Ogawa-machi and Kudan was opened, just prior to the Russo-Japanese war, the houses and shops on one side of the street were pushed back 60 feet to make the street 108 feet wide. After the war, says Mr. Ogawa, the street was widened to 132 feet and separate lanes marked off for vehicles and pedestrians. Up until that time the main thoroughfare in the area had been Suzuran-dōri, which is now only a back street, and the larger book shops—for the area is famous for its book shops—had all opened on this. Most of these stores, incidentally, had a frontage of about twelve feet and a depth of about thirty, but a few of the larger establishments had as much as thirty-six feet of frontage.

The book store's of those days had no glass windows in front nor bookshelves inside. The books were simply laid out on the floor mats of a Japanese-style room or placed on benches out under the eaves. At night they were taken inside the section of the building where the proprietor resided, and wooden

shutters were placed over the front opening. In the daytime a white cloth weighed with stones was hung from the front eaves to keep out the sun. Behind the shop was the proprietor's living room, and behind that the kitchen. There was a second floor, but no garden. Stores of this type, which faced on the main street, were usually rented. If one went into the little alleys and byways behind them, one found fine houses occupied by prosperous pawnbrokers or people of the leisured class.

Water mains were first laid in this Kanda bookstore area in 1902. Until that time there had been about one well for every five tenants, and between the well and the drainage ditch there had usually been a great wooden sink where the wives of the neighborhood did their washing. In the expansion that accompanied the Russo-Japanese war, the wells in the vicinity, most of which were only about six feet deep, were filled, and houses built over them, but later it was often said that the people who lived in these houses were always getting sick. When the water system was installed there was only one outlet for each five or six houses, and each kitchen continued to be furnished with water buckets and dippers. In fact, the general appearance of kitchens was altered little by the change, though the gradual spread of running water facilities did much to promote the re-zoning of the city. Simultaneously, we might add, the spread of electric lights eliminated some of the architectural limitations caused by the need for light, but the unfortunate result was that houses were crowded together even more than before.

Small clothing merchants often displayed their handful of goods in the front of their tiny shops, but the larger dealers rarely put out any display. Instead they relied on the customer to come into a dirt-floor section at the front of the shop and give his order to a storekeeper, who was usually ensconced on a raised section covered with floor matting. The storekeeper would then bellow for an apprentice and have the desired article brought out for showing. Each season the storekeeper went around to the best customers with samples of the new

wares, but otherwise merchants employed the passive sales method described. In 1904, however, the firms of Mitsukoshi and Shirokiya both changed over to the department-store method, and their success had a great effect on sales practices in general, but the storekeeper-call-apprentice system did not fade away overnight, and you still had to take off your footgear to go inside Mitsukoshi. The larger stores had to provide a great deal of space for the customers' shoes and geta, and custom was not the only reason. The streets were not yet paved, and even the new Western-style buildings would have soon become unbearably dirty on rainy days, when the city was virtually converted into a quagmire. The nuisance of storing shoes and various other practical difficulties in running stores were not overcome until public projects such as street paving, the installation of water pipes and sewage, the development of transportation facilities, and so on had been carried out to an adequate degree. In fact, such public works were fairly slow in coming, and the development of modern shops and shopping districts was correspondingly retarded. As a result the Meiji period saw only a very partial acceptance of Western styles by city merchants.

3. NEW-STYLE HOUSES IN THE LIVES OF OFFICIALS AND SALARIED MEN

After the battle of Toba and Fushimi in the first month of 1868, there followed an expedition to the east by the imperial forces. There were even plans for a general attack on Edo on the fifteenth day of the third month, but thanks to the loyal submission of the shōgun, Tokugawa Keiki, the gates of Edo castle were opened without battle on the eleventh day of the fourth month. The Tokugawa family was more or less consigned to oblivion, but a few of the northern clans continued to resist the new government until the fifth month of the following year, battles extending as far north as Hokkaidō. During this period

Edo virtually sank into decay. Though spared actual warfare, the shōgun's capital was deserted by its former upper crust, the daimyō and their retainers. Conditions in the city have been described by Fujisawa Eihiko as follows:

Even the residents of "Daimyō Lane"—Lord Matsudaira of Buzen, Lord Matsudaira of the Treasury, Lord Matsudaira of Mikawa, Lord Matsudaira of Tosa, Lord Matsudaira of Awa, and Lord Matsudaira of Sagami—left with their wives, daughters, old retainers, employees, elderly women, and concubines. So also went Lord Doi, Master of the Kitchen, and Lord Hayashi of the University both from the farther bank of the Yaesu, and Lord Hosokawa of Etchū from Gofuku Bridge. The mansions that had housed these great nobles and their thousands of kinsmen and retainers were left vacant. So indeed were the Office for Relaying Reports to the Shōgun, the Supreme High Court, the Constabulary at Kitamachi, and the other official mansions in what is now the Marunouchi District. Later these were occupied by the Meiji Government's Bureau of the Currency, Ministry of Justice, Censorate, and Ministry of War, along with important personages like Kujō, Saionji, Tokudaiji, and Iwakura, but for a time they were simply left to the wind and the rain. Their eaves virtually collapsed for want of repair, and they were buried in weeds. In "Daimyō Lane" there was just enough of a path for a person to get through, and in the daytime one occasionally saw people... (doing so), but in the evening no one was to be found there....

Direct retainers of the Tokugawa family were deprived of their old emoluments as well as their administrative jurisdictions and were left with the choice of moving away like the Tokugawa or staying and trying to set up some sort of business. It is said that 6,572 heads of houses among the Tokugawa retainers moved to the old provinces of Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mikawa, and that they were accompanied by some 25,000

kinsmen or retainers. The feudatories dismissed their lesser retainers and tried to sell their houses, but thanks to the troubled conditions of the times, there were few purchasers.

Yamashita Shigetami has written the following account of the situation:

The retainers' houses were a pitiful sight. Some, who for lack of anything better to do were living on in them, cut down the hedges in front and opened odd teahouses. While their wives and daughters went elegantly through the tea ceremony they urged customers to buy a cup. Others set up makeshift shops and sold their family heirlooms at ridiculous prices. Sometimes even the head of the house made the sales. Still others quickly built a furnace, hung out a sign, and commenced selling roasted sweet potatoes in an effort just to keep themselves alive. The fine houses of the warrior class were suddenly converted into shops. The trees sacred to the god of agriculture as well as the bamboo groves in back of the houses were cut down, and nothing was left of them but old stumps.

In the fifth month of 1868 a military station was established in Edo and martial law enforced. Then on the seventeenth day of the seventh month civil law was restored, and the city was renamed Tokyo. On the thirteenth of the tenth month, the emperor moved to the city, and it thenceforward became the capital of the nation. By the next year the various organs of government had gathered there, and in the following year the nobility as well as members of the military class were given permission to reside there. In 1871 the distinction between warrior-class districts, and merchant districts which had been maintained in Edo, was abolished, and people were free in principle to reside wherever they pleased.

The new government was largely in the hands of anti-Tokugawa men from the districts of Satsuma, Nagato, Tosa, Hizen, Aki, Owari, and Echigo. These people arrived in Tokyo just as the powers that had been were leaving, and they proceeded

to take over the now vacant houses and mansions, not only for residences but for government offices as well. Some of the more important officials made the old houses over to suit the new times. *The Record of Enlightenment and Prosperity in Tokyo (Tokyo Kaika Hanjō-shi)*, for example contains the following passage:

The highest officials appointed directly by the emperor or with his approval live in the houses of the daimyōs or of other high shogunate officials. They have added ornaments and new stories to the buildings in imitation of the English or French style. The construction work is magnificent, and the buildings now reach up into the heavens and touch the sky. The occupants go forth in four-horse carriages flanked by their favorite concubines, preceded by drivers and grooms, and followed by serving girls running hither and thither. At home there are fine chairs, good food, tapestried cushions, vases full of flowers of all seasons, bright lamps, sliding glass doors winter and summer, stoves—all sorts of wonderful and curious things. These gentlemen wear beautiful and expensive clothing, eat beef and lamb, speak English and French, wear their hair long, and try to be white. What we would like to know is does the enlightenment really enlighten?

Nevertheless, though some of the new officials remodeled the old houses or built new ones alongside them, most of them left the buildings the way they were. This is not to say, however, that they did not spread rugs in the front room and install chairs, desks, stoves, glass windows, and dozens of other Western objects.

Indeed, they even followed the trends of the time to the extent of replacing the lowly servants who had formerly attended the front entrances of their houses with worthy young students who had come to the capital to seek their fortune. With a few exceptions, however, the officials in the new government so little need to make drastic changes in the old houses of the

warrior class, and this is understandable, since most of the new officials were from the warrior class themselves.

In 1871, when the old feudal districts were abolished and prefectures established, the government was faced with the necessity of building many new offices and residences for local officials. Some effort was made to arrive at a more or less uniform pattern, but with only questionable success. In any event, it was established as policy that the size of an official's residence would be proportionate to his rank.

The government also found itself in possession of a large and mostly assortment of houses, official buildings, and storehouses that had belonged to the local feudal governments. In 1872 it began making a registry of these, but only shortly afterward it decided to sell all of them except the *nagaya*. These, along with such new residential buildings as had to be built were rented to the occupants. The buildings sold, which were for the most part former residences of members of the warrior class, were made available to local officials on cheap and comparatively easy terms. Thus for the larger part local officials, like their urban confreres, took up residence in the old-style houses of the Tokugawa-period samurai.

It is interesting to note that the domestic life of the new officials was also close in spirit to that of the samurai. The following was written about townspeople, but we may rest assured that it applied equally well, if not even better, to officials:

No matter how small the house in those days, every person's room was strictly fixed, just as in a great daimyō's mansion. When the lady of the house went into her husband's room, she conducted herself with the same formality as if she were calling at another house, and the same was true of children. In fact, if children were not summoned by their father, they did not go into his room. When they were summoned, of course, it was usually to be scolded, and often after they were grown they still dreaded to be

called to their father's room for fear that they would just be regaled with some complaint or another.

One important difference between the officials of the Meiji period and the warriors of the Tokugawa period was that the former were constantly moving from post to post and consequently lived usually in official residences, or rented houses. No doubt many of them would have preferred to buy a home for their families, but they never knew when they would have to pick up and move. In the official residences, the emphasis was often largely on the rooms designed for entertaining guests, and the real living quarters were more or less tacked on as an afterthought. Few occupants thought of them as real homes, and they were usually poorly arranged and difficult to fix up attractively.

Furthermore, official residences or company residences were available to only a few of the many officials and company employees traveling around the country, and as a result rented houses began to play an important role. Since the really decent houses were soon filled with the more important personnel, the minor lights usually had to content themselves with something on the seamier side of the warrior-class tradition.

The official and company residences were ordinarily equipped with Western-style rooms and furniture so that guests could be entertained in the modern fashion, but this was not so in the case of rented houses. Families who moved from place to place could, of course, buy their own Western chairs and tables, but there was never any guarantee that there would be any place to put them in the next house they moved to.

According to Ono Hana, until around 1885 there were many *nagaya*-style houses for rent in Tokyo. Each compartment had a kitchen and front entrance side by side, and it was the general practice not to furnish *tatami*. People who moved from a larger house to a smaller one simply piled up the extra *tatami* somewhere and kept them for possible future use. Around 1891 advertisements for "fully equipped" houses to let were often

posted here and there, but "fully equipped" meant the sliding paper doors between rooms, and unless the sign said both "*tatami*" and "fully equipped" the house had no *tatami*. After around that time, however, it gradually became the usual practice to furnish them, and people who moved from place to place naturally avoided houses that did not have them. The increasing tendency to rent rather than buy, incidentally, rendered it virtually impossible for the government to fix the size of an official's house in accordance with his rank.

People who were not always transferring from place to place began to require Western-style rooms and furnishings in their homes, whether the latter were rented or owned. It became a common practice to add a Western room somewhere near the entrance of the cheaper warrior-style houses, and some people even went so far as to build separate Western-style houses off to the side. When a Western room was added to a Japanese house, it was generally referred to as the "reception room," and indeed it was usually little more than that. Perhaps it was only natural that the room used for entertaining guests from without was the first to take on the style that now prevailed in government bureaus, company offices, and other public buildings. In any event, such rooms were convenient for receiving people who came on business or those who happened to be wearing Western clothes. Some families found the Western style suitable for libraries and studies as well, but most houses the only Western room was the "reception room."

On the other hand, the "reception room" was usually not equipped for the eating and drinking that form an essential part of traditional Japanese modes of entertainment, and it was considered rude to dispose of a really honored guest there, without inviting him into the Japanese-style parlor to be properly wine and dined. Fashion demanded the Western style, but custom demanded the Japanese style, and people who were able began to equip themselves with both, despite the added expense involved in owning two types of furnishings, decorations, and incidentals.

This trend was strongest among the people whose work kept them in Western-style offices during the day.

The 1880's saw the flowering of the students who had attended classes under the Western architects of the early Meiji period, and in this decade a few members of the upper class built real Western brick or stucco houses, replete with cornices, glass windows, and shutters, more or less in the Renaissance style. Representative was the mansion of Shibusawa Eiichi, which was planned by and built under the supervision of Dr. Tatsuno Kingo. This was described as follows in the *Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper* for June 24, 1888:

The building, which is located at Kabuto-chō, Nihombashi, was begun in January, and the finishing touches have recently been added to the interior. In four or five days the arbor and garden will be completed, and Mr. Shibusawa will move in around the first of next month.

The whole house inside and out was planned by Dr. Tatsuno Kingo and built by Shimizu Man'nosuke the architecture is in the style of Venice (Italy) and is most suitable to the location by the bay. The main building covers 140 *tsubo* and is the part to which Dr. Tatsuno devoted his chief efforts. There are two stories, with an underground storehouse for wine and meat. The fourteen rooms include two reception rooms, a ballroom, and a banquet hall upholstered with Japanese damask. The fireplaces are trimmed with imported marble, and the ceilings are decolated with famous Japanese printings and plaster ornaments. The floor is made of wood. There are many other decorations, and the stairway, in particular, is adorned with skillfully executed sculpture. The floor of the front entrance is made of alabaster.

The wainscoting in the toilet is made of colored of pictured tiles, and above the ceiling in this room there is a tank of water so that the toilet can be flushed clean after each use.

There is an auxiliary building covering 90 *tsubo*, in which the architect lavished his attention primarily on the bath. The wainscoting is made of tiles covered with Japanese pictures, and the ceiling has diagonal crossbeams of cedar. There is a hot bath in the next room. The water is kept in tank above the ceiling and piped down as needed. All in all, this is a sample of the perfect architecture, combining the best features of Japanese and Western buildings.

Other well-known Western-style residences of this period were the Hozumi house designed by Dr. Nakamura Tatsutarō, the residence of the Minister of Communication designed by Dr. Niinomi Takamasa, and the Nabeshima house designed by Mr. Sakamoto Matatsune. Such buildings were erected only by a few of the upper class, but at any rate Western residential architecture became a factor in Japanese life, and it was adopted rather quickly by doctors, lawyers, and other professional men who had their offices at home. On the other hand, it was usually modified in one way or another. Western rooms, for example, were sometimes fitted with *tatami*, and quite often the place where business was carried on was Western, but the living quarters Japanese. Only people in extraordinary circumstances of one sort or another were willing to part with *tatami* and the various domestic practices associated with them. In general, the Japanese house with Western "reception room" was accepted by officials and the people engaged in new business and professions, but few persons compromised with the West to any fuller extent.

The Spread of New Building Materials to the Provinces

Ordinary people in the country were by no means quick to rebuild their houses by the new methods introduced in the Meiji period. In general, houses gradually improved, but in the majority of cases rebuilding was not undertaken until it was made necessary by deterioration or disaster, usually fire. There are numbers

of specific records to the effect and so-and-so in such-and-such a district, having suffered a fire, rebuilt his house in such a way as to make it more convenient or comfortable than before. Rebuilding after fires, however, usually involved haste and lack of planning, and it is by no means certain that all of the houses that resulted were better than their predecessors. Still, it is certain that bit by bit houses in the country were made more livable. In the following section, we shall examine a few of the general changes.

(1) The spread of tile and galvanised roofs. The most conspicuous feature of the pre-modern Japanese farm house, and at the same time the most easily, damaged, was the roof. To the Japanese farmer, a shabby, leaky roof was not only a nuisance in itself; it was a sure sign of wearing fortunes. During the Tokugawa period, the inhabitants of small farm communities usually maintained a communal field of miscanthus for thatching and periodically helped each other change roofing. This cooperative method remained in practice after the beginning of the Meiji period, but it was gradually rendered obsolete, first by a general switch from thatch to more durable materials and second, by the appearance in rural areas of non-farming families who could not very well participate in the organization. With the construction of one or two tile roofs in a village, the roofing association usually began to collapse.

Material traditionally used for roofs in Japan included miscanthus, straw, shingles, boards, bamboo sections, cedar bark, and tiles. In the Meiji period roofs thatched with miscanthus were to be found all over the country, but except in the north-east region and Kyūshū, straw roofs were even more common. In Kanagawa, Kyoto, and Miyazaki Prefectures a mixture of miscanthus and straw was common, and in Kyoto barley husks were sometimes added to these, while in Ishikawa Prefecture barley husks were often mixed with the straw of some other grain. These various combinations were devised to make up for a lack of miscanthus, and they were in large measure new

to the Meiji period, when production of that plant fell.

Often people placed turf along the ridge of a thatched roof or covered it with tiles. Auxiliary eaves were frequently covered with cedar bark or singles. Roofs of cedar bark were common in Akita, Iwate, and Kyoto Prefectures, and in Iwate at least it was the practice to anchor the bark with pieces of wood and stones. In Niigata and Ishikawa shingle roofs were common, and in Gumma, Toyama, and Ishikawa board roofs were used to some extent. In all these latter instances the roofs were anchored with stones and were commonly spoken of as "stone roofs." Bamboo sections were used only in Kumamoto and Miyazaki prefectures, while tiles were common in Tokyo, Mie, Kyoto, Nara, Hyōgo, Shimane, Yamaguchi, and Tokushima—that is to say, in the central regions and the area around Kyoto. The use of tiles on ordinary house roofs was largely a development of the Edo period.

In the Meiji period, thatch roofs were replaced with tiles in the vast majority of cases. In some instances, however, straw was merely replaced with miscanthus. This development occurred in Ishikawa Prefecture during the Meiji thirties, in Okayama Prefecture toward the end of the Taishō period, and in Tottori Prefecture around 1932 or 1933. In Iwate, Yamagata, Tochigi, Kanagawa, Niigata, Yamanashi, Aichi, Kyoto, and Miyazaki Prefectures straw or miscanthus gave way in many cases to galvanized iron usually during the latter half of the Meiji period. In the vicinity of Ichinomiya, Aichi Prefecture, it was the fashion in late Meiji simply to cover straw roofs with zinc roofing, but gradually people switched to tiles, which are now to be seen on some 30 per cent of the houses.

In general, the slope of tile roofs must be more gentle than that of thatch roofs, and to change from thatch to tile involves rebuilding the entire roof structure. This difficulty was avoided in many places by using zinc roofing instead of tiles. Nevertheless, the general trend was toward the latter. Broadly speaking, the change to tiles occurred during the first decade

of Meiji in Yamaguchi, Ehime, Ōita, and Miyazaki Prefectures, during the second decade in Ibaraki, Mie, and Kagoshima Prefectures, during the third decade in Kyoto, Shimane, and Tokushima Prefectures, and during the fourth decade in Saitama, Osaka, and Okayama Prefectures. In Fukushima, Gumma, Toyama, Ishikawa, and Wakayama Prefectures the change was often as late as the Taishō period, and in Ishikawa Prefecture it was carried out by prefectural order in 1919 and 1920.

The change in the slope of the roof varied to some extent in different parts of the country. In Tottori and Shimane, for example, there were cases in which a thatch roof with a slope of 45 degrees gave way to a tile roof with a slope of only 30 degrees. In areas subject to heavy snowfall, however, the change was not ordinarily so drastic.

(2) Glass and lighting; Although one reads occasionally of districts in which houses were sufficiently well lighted to warrant no changes in the Meiji period, farm houses in general were very dark. In some areas, people even hesitated to replace the gloomy wooden partitions between rooms with translucent paper ones because of the expense involved. The need for well-lighted houses was not regarded as a social problem until after World War I, but after around 1880 many individuals began to take steps to make their houses brighter and more cheerful.

As a rule, people began by putting more windows in the kitchen, which had been about the darkest place in the house. Then came the partitions between rooms, the entrance, the outside hallways, the bathroom, the toilet, and the attic. In the town of Sonobe, Kyoto Prefecture, in 1906 Tanaka Hideko, having decided that her rooms were too dark and her kitchen too cold, had a number of windows cut and paper-covered *shōji* put in them, after which she was delighted to find her house light and warm. In the town of Ohazama, Iwate Prefecture, on the other hand, Sugawara Ryūtarō complained that when it rained it was too dark in his house to work, and in 1892 he

knocked out a wall and replaced it with windows. Similar instances are recorded in Ichinomiya, Aichi Prefecture (1905), Inabu-mura, Kōchi Prefecture (1907), and Futaiwa-mura, Ehime Prefecture (1911). At first the windows were fitted with wooden shutters, but later these, along with the wooden doors between rooms gave way to paper-covered doors, and ultimately glass.

The use of glass in doors and windows in rural areas has been reported in Toyama Prefecture in 1887, in Ibaraki Prefecture in 1890, in Aichi Prefecture in 1897, in Ishikawa and Yamaguchi Prefectures in 1899, in Kanagawa and Kyoto Prefectures in 1901, in Shimane Prefecture in 1903, in Niigata, Nara, and Kanagawa Prefectures in 1907, in Fukuoka Prefecture in 1909, in Fukushima Prefecture in 1910, and in Wakayama, Mie, Okayama, and Kumamoto Prefectures in the early years of the Taishō period. In general, the development appears to have occurred in the colder parts of the country first. Tabata Matsu, of Ayabe, recalls that glass became fashionable in her town in 1901 or 1902, and that many people began to use it on the west side of their houses.

Any number of specific examples, however, indicate that glass was used only sparingly at first, often only in one small panel of a papercovered door. Even the upper-class members of farm communities did not use it on all their outside doors and windows until the 1930's. At the same time, in most areas, glass doors and windows were installed in all the new public schools, government offices, hospitals, barber shops, hotels, restaurants, and stores, whence they gradually made their way into ordinary homes. In the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period*, they are recorded as early as 1873 in Iwate Prefecture, but in some places in Kagoshima Prefecture they were not used in houses until 1926.

(3) Cement. Until cement was introduced from the West, the Japanese used granite, *daikoku-seki*, or hard plaster for paving, insofar as they used anything at all. In ordinary farm houses, there was a large dirt-floor room used as a kitchen and

workroom, and this was sometimes paved with the materials mentioned. Also, paving was used by some in entrance halls, sinks, and toilets. The materials, however, presented difficulties—stone was difficult and expensive to haul, and plaster was vulnerable to water—and in the usual farmhouse the entrance, as well as the kitchen and workroom, was left unpaved.

The first use of cement in ordinary farmhouses is reported to have occurred in Osaka Prefecture in 1887, in Yamagata and Aichi Prefectures in 1897, in Toyama Prefecture in 1900, in Kyoto Prefecture in 1902, in Iwate and Tokyo Prefectures in 1902 or 1903, Mie Prefecture in 1904 or 1905, in Kanagawa, Saitama, Ishikawa, Nara, Yamaguchi, Kagawa, and Fukuoka Prefectures in 1907, in Shimane Prefecture in 1908, in Tokushima Prefecture in 1909, in Gumma and Yamanashi Prefectures in 1912, and in Niigata and Okayama Prefectures at the end of Meiji. In many villages cement was not used until the late Taishō or early Shōwa periods.

Cement was first used in entrance halls, kitchens, laundry rooms, and toilets, but it was found so simple, durable, and clean that it was soon introduced to bathrooms, the former dirt-floor rooms furnaces, storehouses, manure vats, stables, and so on. Many people began to employ it in house foundations. On the other hand, despite countless examples of the use of cement in rural areas in the Meiji and Taishō periods, the average farmer did not employ it to any large extent until after World War II.

(4) Water Pumps. The use of water pumps in ordinary houses is recorded in Toyama Prefecture as early as 1880, when a woman named Takatori attached one to her well. Sugawara Ryūtarō, of Ohazama, Iwate Prefecture, saw a pump when he was on a trip to Morioka and Hanamaki in the early years of Taishō, and later replaced his well-sweep with one. Imaizumi Koto of Nihom'matsu, Fukushima Prefecture, installed a pump on her well, but relied on the town's water system in her kitchen. Edamura Zensaburō of the village of Shiroyama,

Tochigi Prefecture, planned in 1918 or 1919 to remodel his kitchen, but was prevented by the older members of his family and had to wait until the end of the Taishō period to install a pump and water tank. Ōmori Kame of the Village of Oshino Yamanashi Prefecture, suffered the loss of her well in the great earthquake of 1923 and installed a new pump when she repaired it.

Several other examples could be given, but suffice it to say here that pumps were not common until the end of the Meiji period or later. On the other hand, a surprising number of small cities, acting in the interests of sanitation, installed simple water works, and by the end of the Meiji period running water was fairly common in the larger cities.

(5) Western furniture. Western chairs, desks, and tables entered the provinces at a comparatively early date, largely because they were used in the new schools and government offices. They are known to have been installed, for example, in Toyosato-mura, Nagano Prefecture, in 1873; in Iriki-machi, Kagoshima Prefecture, in 1880; and in Takachiho-machi, Miyazaki Prefecture, in 1882. In each of these instances they were used only in public buildings, and it is not until somewhat later that we hear of them in private homes in the country. After 1887, however, their use in private residences is recorded in a number of different places. In 1890, for example, Sugawara Ryūtarō, of Ohazama, Iwate prefecture, enclosed the space under a set of auxiliary eaves, put a wooden floor in it, installed a chair and desk, and began to use the new room as a study. Hasegawa Ichirō of the village of Uchigō, Kanagawa Prefecture, also used a chair and a desk in his study room around the same period. Shima Fujiemon, of the city of Maizuru, on the other hand, installed chairs in his shop for the comfort of his customers. When Soga Dan of the village of Futaiwa, Ehima Prefecture, bought a sewing machine in 1900, he also bought a table to put it on and a chair to sit in while using it. Around 1907, Honda Kunji, a doctor in Hama-machi, Kumamoto Prefecture,

bought a desk and chairs for his consultation room. As these examples hint, Western furniture was first adopted by merchants, doctors, or those well off enough to send their children to higher schools. By and large, country people used the new chairs, tables, and desks primarily in study rooms and to some extent in reception rooms or offices. Although such furniture was fairly widely distributed over the country, it was ordinarily confined to the houses of the upper class and those of merchants whose offices or shops were attached to their residences. Few ordinary farmers had so much as a chair, and there are still many farm houses with no Western furniture today, but at the same time such furniture was beginning to make inroads in rural districts throughout the country.

In sum, cement and glass met with considerable favor in the rural areas, because they could be introduced into houses without drastic changes in the usual ways of life. At the same time, they were not used on what could be called a large scale, since they were not yet available in large quantities at low cost. At any rate, however, they were introduced, and there is no doubt but that they gradually led to improvements in ordinary housing.

Western furniture, on the other hand, did not fit in with the customary practices of daily life, such as, for example, that of sitting or kneeling on the floor, and it was therefore not so readily accepted. Still, it was adopted by those who could afford it for use in shops, and more important, in children's study rooms. They were probably very few young people who, like those of today, could not long remain seated on *tatami* in the stiff traditional manner, but there were many who were growing accustomed to setting and working in chairs.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW METHODS OF LIGHTING

a. Lighting in the Cities

(1) Kerosene Lamps. Petroleum, called by the name *kusōzu* ("smelly water") was used in the Tokugawa period, and in 1828 a man named Nakagawa Giemon applied to the Lord of Takada for permission to refine and sell petroleum found in Echigo Province (present-day Niigata Prefecture). For some reason his project was not carried out, but somewhat later a family named Nishimura was selling crude oil throughout Echigo under the trademark "Ōya Kurazō." In 1871 Ishizaka Shūzō founded the Nagano Oil Refining Company and began refining on an organized basis. This undertaking was discussed in the *Shimbun Zasshi* (Vol. 3, 1871) as follows:

In Echigo a type of oil called "*kusōzu*" has been flowing out of the ground since ancient times.... Recently a method for refining this sort of oil, removing the odor, and converting it into a product of high quality has been discovered in the United States.... This product is the oil that is now imported and prized so by Japanese. Now in our own country several rich men and companies of Echigo and Yokohama have experimented with means of refining oil and put up a sum of ¥ 40,000 to send someone to America to buy machines. The first machines is one for refining oil. The second is a drill designed to make the oil come up from out of the earth (this is said to have been invented in France and to be capable of boring 1200 feet into the ground. The third is a lead room in which great quantities of sulfuric acid can be refined at once.... Also we hear that in foreign countries gold and silver are melted with sulfuric acid rather than with fire. All these methods should be introduced to our country, and these men who are working to introduce them are performing a

truly patriotic service to the nation.

This first refining company, however, did not succeed. In 1873 it opened a branch in Nagaoka and began refining oil in the Western fashion.

Around the same time Nambu Nobuchika, a minor official in Kashiwazaki Prefecture, visited Tokyo and saw an oil lamp. He recognized the fluid in it to be the same as the *kusōzu* of Echigo and, having purchased one of the lamps, he took it to the village of Kanda in Echigo and succeeded in lighting it with the local oil. Thereupon Nambu and his friend Abe Shinzaemon began marketing Echigo oil in Tokyo, but their method of refining was very imperfect, and when burning the oil smelled terrible. Many attempts were made to improve the refining process. In this connection, the following, which is from the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* for March 30, 1874, is of interest:

Coal oil serves as the fuel for nearly all the oil lamps in use today. The oil found in Akita and Niigata Prefectures is as efficacious as coal oil, but some argue that its odor is harmful to human life, and, as everyone knows, it smells too bad to be burned at the dinner table. . . . A few years ago a Professor Watanabe of Satsuma invented a means for refining pine-root oil, and this method was put into practice in several villages of Akita Prefecture, but possibly because of some fault in the process, the oil is liable to raise a great deal of smoke. Thus neither pine oil nor coal oil will do. When the two are mixed, however, the odor of the pine oil overcomes that of the coal oil, and the gentle flame of the coal oil repressed the smoke of the pine oil. Furthermore, the light produced is greater than when the oils are used separately. This method is being used today even in the most remote villages. It should be encouraged as a mean of decreasing the nation's expenditures for foreign oil and reducing harm to people using lamps.

The above appeared in a letter to the editor by Manabe Eizō of the port of Tsuchizaki, Akita Prefecture. Before the process

for refining Japanese oil had developed to an adequate level, however, the Japan Petroleum Company, which refined foreign oil on a large scale, had gone into operation.

In former times the people of Echigo put crude oil in dishes or jars, added wicks made out of old cloth, and thus made usable, though primitive, lamps. Because of the odor, however, these could not be used inside houses. The Nishimura family, mentioned above, made lamps by fitting porcelain dishes with brass wick holders and wicks made of 10 or so cotton threads. These contraptions they sold primarily in the area around Kashiwazaki.

It is not clear when or how the foreign kerosene lamp was imported, but it is recorded that in 1859 Suzuki Tetsuzō, a man from Nagaoka in the province of Echigo, purchased such a foreigner named Snell in Yokohama, and this is said to have been the first kerosene lamp used in Echigo. Very likely the lamps were introduced from several countries at once some time during the 1850's, when Japan was opened for foreign trade. In the early Meiji period such lamps as were in use were high-priced imported articles, but soon afterward Japanese imitations appeared on the market. In this connection, the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* (January 6, 1874) commented, "In recent years the paper-covered Japanese lamp (*andon*) has rapidly been losing ground to kerosene lamps. Though the latter are being produced in Japan, most Japanese prefer foreign products, for the simple reason that Japanese glass chimney break too easily." On August 4, 1874, the same newspaper said, "Between the 21st and 27th of last month, when the festival of the Gion Shrine was celebrated in Yamaguchi Prefecture... the merchants burned kerosene lamps in their shops, and it was as bright and clear as day." This suggests that lamps were in wide use in rural districts.

In Tokyo on December 18 of the same year, a brand new development occurred with the lighting of gas streetlamps on the Ginza between Kanasugi and Kyōbashi. It being no simple

matter to install gaslights everywhere needed, however oil lamps had already been hung on a street between Hongoku-chō and the Bakuro-chō on the previous September 1, and children was singing a little song that went roughly:

The gas, the gas: When will it go on?

The oil lamps showed up later,

But they lit the streets up earlier.

(*Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper*, September 14, 1874)

Oil lamps thus drew much praise, and in 1877 a group of public spirited men applied for permission to install them on the main thoroughfare and new streets of the Nishi-Kubotomoe district in Shiba at their own expense.

A number of newspaper advertisements concerning lamps and oil appeared in the Tokyo and Osaka press:

LARGE SALE OF FIRE-RETAINING COAL OIL

This fire retaining coal oil is a technical marvel. It can be used in regular lamps with perfect safety. No danger of fires. Try some and buy some. It can be used in the same way as ordinary kerosene.

Retail price: 1 gō 2.5 sen

Wholesale Price

for one box or more

(one box containing 2 to):

4, 25 yen

Tsuji Heibei

18-2 Jimbō-chō, Tokyo

GAS LAMPS

Of course our oil-gas lamps are clear and bright. Use one in your parlor, and you need fear no fire. Convenient to use and astoundingly cheap. We await your order.

Respectfully,
Itoi Genzaburō
4 Waizumi-chō, Nakahashi

We have discovered a method of substituting camphor oil for kerosene. . . .

Nagaoka Sasuke, Apothecary
11 Fushimi-chō, 14th Small Ward,
1st Large Ward, Osaka

Apparently the fire hazard was such that any number of substitutes for kerosene were tried. On August 2, 1876, the *Yūbin Hōchi* reported that it had been planned to use oil lamps in the lanterns at a forthcoming ceremony at the Asakusa Kannon Temple, but that because of the danger of fire and the opposition of merchants selling candles or Japanese oil, a movement to forbid the use of the lamps had gained some ground. On February 24, 1877, the Imperial Household Ministry announced that it would soon replace all its kerosene lamps with gaslights.

Despite the fact that gaslights were in operation soon after the kerosene lamp began to gain currency in the Tokyo-Yokohama region, gaslights were not adopted in many Japanese homes, partially because the gas was expensive, and partially because the light from gas lamps was too strong for the average Japanese house. Despite the danger of fire and the subsequent appearance of electric lights, most houses in this area were lighted by kerosene throughout the Meiji period, and oil lamps were made in all conceivable shapes, sizes, and forms. As a rule, only very small lamps were used in sleeping rooms and bathrooms, where a little light was considered necessary. In kitchens and family sitting rooms, larger lamps hung from the ceiling were common, while in the rooms where guests were

entertained stand lamps were usual. A variety of wicks, wick-holders, and lamp chimneys appeared, and more and more people must have found lamp models to suit their tastes, for the consumption of kerosene increased steadily. The shades of hanging lamps were made first of paper and later of glass. The earliest hanging lamps were imported from abroad and had glass oil containers, but these latter proved to be fire hazards, and later tin or nickel containers were substituted for them. This latter development was apparently slow in coming, for in 1911 an order had to be issued to the metropolitan police stations in Tokyo to switch to metal containers. One difficulty was that when metal containers were attached, the space directly under the lamp was shaded. Eventually hanging lamp in which the container was above the wick appeared, very likely as the lamp manufacturers' answer to the electric light.

The brands oil used in lamps were for the most part made in America and England. Foreign kerosene was so popular that project to develop Japanese oil for lighting were virtually forgotten:

(2) Gaslights.

In the seventh month of 1871, the German consul in Yokohama applied to the Kanagawa Prefectural Government for permission to establish a gas company, but the prefect, Izeki Moriyoshi, not wishing to see this promising enterprise fall into foreign hands, conferred with Takashima Kaemon and, with his permission, set up the company himself. Planned and supervised by a French technician, the firm began in the ninth month of 1872 to furnish gas for lighting to the foreign settlement in Yokohama. In 1875, its gas pipes had a total length of 79,308 feet and a maximum diameter of 8 inches. To run this large a system in those days was no mean task, and the company had many maintenance difficulties.

In the second month of 1871 the governor of Tokyo, Yuri Kimitada, proposed a trial installation of gaslights in the New Yoshiwara district and had Takashima Kaemon of Yokohama

procure the lamps from London. They arrived in the following year, but the project was not carried out, since the metropolitan officials and the metropolitan assembly became embroiled in a debate over whether to install gaslights, oil lamps, or *genkatō* on the city streets. Finally on December 18, 1874, the first gas streetlights were lit, not in New Yoshiwara, but along the Ginza. By May 25, 1876, 350 gaslights were in operation on the city streets.

Gaslights still had not been installed in buildings, and even in December, 1877, they were in use in only nineteen, the main ones being the Industrial University and the Bureau of Communications. The enterprise, however, was soon expanded and prices lowered, and by 1879 there were 1192 gaslights installed in 88 buildings. In 1881 the number of gas streetlights was increased by 44, and the number of buildings using gaslights increased to 222. Then in October, 1885, the Tokyo Gas Company, Incorporated, was formed with Shibusawa Eiichi, who had been a supporter of gas development from the first, as its president. This firm took over the ownership and management of all city gas lines. The subsequent spread of gas facilities is indicated in the following chart:

THE SPREAD OF GASLIGHTS IN TOKYO

Year	Number of Street lights	Number of Buildings Using Gaslight	Number of Lights	Average Number of Lamps per Building
1886	400	343	6,678	19.47
1890	545	1,105	11,801	19.68
1895	645	2,266	20,312	8.96
1900	1,159	12,369	59,182	4.78
1905	1,868	27,962	113,122	4.45
1910	3,219	74,319	239,881	3.23

The spread of gas facilities to other regions than Tokyo and Yokohama did not come until around 1900, largely because gas

was being used exclusively for lighting and therefore was in competition with electricity and kerosene. The first gas company to be founded after Tokyo Gas was the Kōbe Gas Company, which began operations in January, 1900. Afterward came the Osaka Gas Company in October, 1905, the Hakata Gas Company in February, 1906, the Tochigi Gas Company in February, 1907, and the Nagoya Gas Company in October, 1907. Gas companies were founded in Toyohashi and 12 other cities in 1909, and in Okazaki and 24 other cities in 1911. The secret behind the sudden appearance of so many firms was that after 1899 gas was used for heating and power as well as light. The development of gas consumption was as follows:

THE USE OF GAS FIXTURES IN JAPAN
FOR LIGHTING FOR HEATING FOR POWER

Year	Number of Outlets in Private Houses	Total Number of Outlets	House Use Instalment		House Use Instalment		Street lights
1880	275	3,034	—	—	—	—	755
1885	564	10,724	—	—	—	—	738
1890	1,340	17,273	—	—	—	—	907
1895	2,738	26,274	—	—	—	—	1,007
1900	13,767	73,462	488	5,178	289	304	1,607
1905	37,679	163,262	2,150	15,915	694	796	2,578
1910	117,616	404,367	43,100	204,713	980	1,673	4,653

At first gaslights were burned as open flames, but after 1891 incandescent mantles were introduced, and the result was stronger and more even lighting. After 1903 mantles which faced downward were introduced, again with increased lighting power as a result.

The gradual fall in the number of outlets per building indicates that gaslights were being used increasingly in private houses as well as government buildings and office buildings. At the end of Meiji, however, gaslights were still confined largely to the houses of the upper class, and they were often used alongside

electric lights and kerosene lamps. We might add, incidentally that gas was installed fairly early in the downtown Asakusa region of Tokyo, but did not spread to the upper-class residential district of Yamanote until the Meiji thirties.

(3) Electric lights.

Electric lights were not introduced until long after gaslights. In 1877, at the celebration of the opening of the Central Telegraph Bureau, students from the Industrial University startled the honored guests by lighting up the assembly hall with arc lights powered by battery, but electric lights were not immediately put into practical use. In 1882 Yashima Sakurō, Hara Rokurō, Ōkura Kihachirō, Minomura Toshisuke, and Kashiwamura Shin applied to the Tokyo Metropolitan Government for permission to install electric lights (apparently arc lights) in the city, but this project was strongly opposed on the grounds that the time was not yet ripe. About that time, however, an American firm imported an electric generator, along with a technician to run it, and an office for a proposed electric power plant was set up in the Ōkura Construction Company. Subsequently, electric lights were tasted in various places. On October 24, 1882, for example, the *Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper* carried an article that read in part as follows:

Today an electric light will be tasted in Yokosuka and . . . if it proves satisfactory the electric light at No. 2 Ginza will be put into operation on the 28th. Night before last, a light invented by Assistant Professor Fujioka Ichisuke of the Industrial University was tasted at the house of Tanaka Ōkichi at Shimbashi. It gave forth a bright study light and proved to be superior even to the lights made in France by M. Celine.

The electric light at No. 2 Ginza was a 2,000 candlepower arc light installed by the then nascent Tokyo Electric Light Company as a publicity stunt. According to the *Tokyo Nichinichi* for November 4, it was hung on a light pole 50 feet high and run by a 5 horsepower steam-operated generator. The

paper estimated the light given off to be equal to that of 4,000 wax candles. Nozawa Sadakichi, who wrote the newspaper report added the following explanation to a woodblock print showing the light:

The electric light is a new invention by an American. It is powered by an electric machine and uses no fire. Its light can be seen for several thousand yards and is as bright as high noon.

Assistant Professor Fujioka also continued his experiments with incandescent lamps and apparently contributed considerable propaganda. According to the Tokyo *Nichinichi* for December 20, 1882, he conducted lectures on the new lights at both the imperial palace and the mansion of Prince Kitashirakawa.

On February, 14, 1883, the Tokyo Electric Light Company received final permission set up its plant, and electric lights entered the practical phase. Aside from this company's activities we might mention that the Yokohama shipbuilding Company, the Tanaka Trading Company at Shimbashi, the Senju Weaving Company, and the Murata Gun factory in Koishikawa all installed arc lights. In the following year they were adopted by various theaters in Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka.

Incandescent lamps were also put to practical use. In 1885, for example, Dr. Fujioka installed 40 of them in the assembly hall of the Bank of Tokyo. On July 5, 1886, the Tokyo Electric Light Company began operations with the beginning of a power plant in Miyoshi employing a Japanese-made generator. The Company's first installations were probably limited to a few arc lamps here and there, but in the following year it began manufacturing light bulbs. Dr. Fujioka was made chief technician, and on October 29, 1887, the firm began delivering electricity by overhead power lines from a generator in South Kayaba-chō, Nihombashi, to the Edobashi Post Office, the Imamura Bank, and ten street lamps in the area. When the new imperial palace was being built, the company set up a plant nearby and was ultimately rewarded with orders not only for the

palace but for the mansion of Prince Kitashirakawa. In the next few years whenever there was a large order for electricity a special plant was set up nearby, and long-distance deliveries were avoided, but there was a constantly increasing demand for electric lights among people living in the vicinity of large consumers, and the company's operations gradually expanded over a sizable area. According to the Tokyo *Nichinichi* for May 24 1888, "the Kōjimachi electric plant has installed wires for 16 users and is working on installations for 18 more. More requests are coming in everyday, and it looks as though before long gaslights will have disappeared from this area." The electric lights in the imperial palace probably served as an excellent advertisement. Commenting on them, the *Nichinichi* for November 1, 1888, said that the palace at night was every bit as pretty as a picture.

The Tokyo Electric Light Company proved to be a powerful rival to the Tokyo Gas Company, and since business was generally good at the time, electric light companies began to spring up everywhere. The Kōbe Electric Light Company began operations in September, 1888, and was followed in the next year by similar concerns in Osaka, Kyoto, and Nagoya. In 1890 companies were formed in Shinagawa, Yokohama, and Fukagawa, and in 1891 the Kumamoto, Hokkaidō, and Imperial (Tokyo) Electric Light Companies appeared.

By and by, in January, 1891, the recently completed Provisional National Diet Building burned down because of a leakage of electricity, and the Tokyo Oil Improvement Company ran a large advertisement in the *Jiji Shimpō Newspaper* saying "Electric Lights Burned the Diet Building," but the advance of electricity was not to be impeded by incidents of this sort. The spread of electric lights, in Tokyo is indicated in the following table (See p. 145):

Even in 1905 the number of buildings using electric lights was far less than the number using gaslights, but the total number of electric light outlets was much closer to that of

THE SPREAD OF ELECTRIC LIGHTS IN TOKYO

Year	Number of Street lamps	Number of Buildings Using Electric Lights	Total Number of Outlets	Average Number of Outlets per Building
1889	109	383	6,440	17.74
1890	95	1,025	11,048	10.79
1895	156	4,176	32,858	7.87
1900	205	8,372	55,231	7.91
1905	260	14,969	116,293	7.70

gaslight outlets. As in the case of gaslights, the number of outlets per building decreased, indicating increased use by ordinary householders.

(4) Comparison of the Three Types of Lights.

The number of gas, electric, and kerosene streetlights in Tokyo in the latter half of Meiji was as follows:

THE NUMBER OF STREET LIGHTS IN TOKYO

Year	Gas Lights	Electric Lights	Kerosene Lamps
1900	1,187	261	56,391
1902	1,399	185	66,757
1904	1,763	236	79,643
1906	1,927	269	87,974
1908	2,509	315	92,607
1910	3,325	356	106,352
1912	4,646	643	92,136

To judge from this, despite the increase in gas and electric lights, kerosene lamps remained by far more numerous. Only in the last years of Meiji did the number of oil streetlamps began to show signs of falling. The figures in the second chart include government buildings, factories, and so on, so that they furnish no basis for appraising the situation in

ordinary houses, but it is probably safe to conclude that kerosene lamps were overwhelmingly more numerous than the other types. The population of Tokyo was increasing rapidly during this period, and it is likely that the installation of electric wires and gas pipes could not keep pace with its growth.

Comparative figures for indoor lighting are as follows:

THE NUMBER OF INDOOR GASLIGHTS IN COMPARISON WITH ELECTRIC LIGHTS IN TOKYO

Year	Number of Buildings		Number of Lamps	
	Gas	Electricity	Gas	Electricity
1900	12,483	6,846	60,052	57,924
1902	17,036	10,051	77,001	76,171
1904	24,484	13,885	103,733	106,977
1906	39,130	34,406	142,704	191,444
1908	67,870	79,252	201,829	344,571
1910	86,538	113,812	267,364	490,341
1912	267,560	360,152	667,701	1,177,448

On the other hand, the development from arc lights to short-distance generators powered by heat and then to long-distance generators powered by water was progressing apace, and in December, 1907, Tokyo Electric Light completed a large new power plant at Komabashi that enabled it to deliver electricity over a large area rather than merely within the city of Tokyo. The company was now being called upon to furnish power for streetcars and factories and was taking on the aspects of a full-fledged modern power supplier. At the same time, we might note, gas companies were pushing developments in the field of heating and power supply.

As for the kerosene lamp, the following newspaper article indicates that it was far from obsolete:

An investigation of boarding houses in the city has resulted in their being placed under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan police . . . It is feared that if some improvement

is not made in the kerosene lamps in daily use there is danger of their causing fires. The use of metal lamp bowls has been encouraged, but some people have failed to adopt them. The police are now firmly advising everyone to replace the easily breakable glass bowls with metal ones and to be sure that lamp bases are heavy enough to keep the lamps from falling over easily. Landlords in boarding houses have been asked to explain this to tenants and to sell them new lamps for from 35 to 45 *sen*, or in the event that tenants are unable to pay that, to lend them the lamps at 10 *sen* or so per month.... The police are calling at all boarding houses in the Kanda district and urging these changes.

After the Russo-Japanese war the population of Tokyo increased about 100,000 a year, and there was a natural demand for new fuel. Gas companies stepped up their advertising campaign and succeeded in greatly increasing domestic consumption of gas.

THE CONSUMPTION OF GAS FOR HEATING IN TOKYO

Year	Number of House	Number of Gas Outlets	Average Number of Gas Outlets per House
1900	488	5,178	10.61
1905	1,983	15,313	7.71
1906	3,336	20,680	6.20
1907	5,518	30,376	5.50
1908	14,408	52,589	3.65
1909	25,559	81,133	3.17
1910	38,573	115,451	2.99
1911	—	226,298	—
1912	—	356,538	—

Oil also began around this time to be used for heating. The following advertisement appeared in the *Niroku Newspaper*,

October 13, 1909 :

The King of Oil Stoves

Registered Trade Mark: Gejo Irazu

(No need for a maid)

The 1909 Cultural Stove

No smoke, no smell . . . Good for cooking
rice, boiling water, stewing fish or meat,
warmig milk.

Can be used on the table.

Time and labor are money. This stove will make your
days more convenient and profitable.

The new means of heating succeeded not only because they had become virtually as cheap as firewood, but because there was a general urge toward a simpler and easier domestic life . . . a life in which there was "no need for a maid," as the advertisement put it.

Aside from gas, the gas companies also put coke on sale with considerable success. After around 1910 the smoke that had formerly risen from Tokyo kitchens virtually disappeared, but though kitchens themselves were much improved, they were not basically remodeled until a later age.

b. Lighting in Rural Areas

(1) Oil Lamps. Prior to the Meiji period a variety of fuels was used in rural districts. Of them the most important were vegetable oils and pine oil. The latter was often burned simply in the form of pine roots. The most typical form of lighting device was the *andon*, a paper-covered lamp in which as a rule vegetable oil was burned. Wax candles were used to some extent, but were usually reserved for festivals or other great occasions.

According to the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period* kerosene lamps were in use in rural areas in Yamagata, Niigata, and Osaka Prefectures in 1868, in Kumamoto Prefecture in 1869,

in Fukui and Tokushima Prefectures in 1872, in Miyagi and Ishikawa Prefectures in 1873, in Kōchi Prefecture in 1874, in Kagoshima Prefecture in 1875, and in Ibaraki, Saitama, Gifu, Shiga, Wakayama, Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Miyazaki Prefectures in 1877. The same source, of course, also lists many places where lamps were unknown until the latter part of Meiji, but it is clear at any rate that they were used to some extent in areas throughout the country as early as the first decade of the period. Their introduction to various districts was often recorded. It is reported, for instance, that in the town of Yachi, Yamagata Prefecture, when Tamiya Gorō, the town's only dealer in Western goods, bought several lamps in 1868 and lit one of them in his store, a great crowd of townspeople gathered around to watch. Later, it is said, the new device was adopted by several rich people and restaurateurs. When a rich man in Gyōda, Saitama Prefecture, brought a lamp back from a trip in Tokyo, the people of the area were astounded at it, but its cost was so high, we are told, that poor people could not hope to buy anything like it. Later, however, a local store began selling lamps at prices that anyone could pay. In 1882, a ship captain named Yakuma, who lived in Hitoyoshi, Kumamoto Prefecture, took two shiploads of hemp to market in Nagasaki and on his return brought back a lamp and 2*shō* of oil. People in the vicinity of the Yakuma house, it is said, came to see the lamp every day. It was the first in this district, but soon lamps were on sale in a local store. The father of Nagai Shūkichi, of the town of Kitsuregawa, Tochigi Prefecture, bought a lamp and one *shō* of coal oil in Yokohama, and the family used the lamp for a time, but later ran out of fuel and were unable to use it any longer.

Many other examples could be cited, but it is sufficient here to note that lamps were as a rule introduced by traders or other travelers who went to the cities or trading ports and saw them in use. After they had been adopted by a few families, normally the better-off ones, they began to appear in local stores

or among the wares of traveling peddlers. Peddlers, incidentally, played a large part during in the Meiji twenties in carrying the lamp to out-of-the-way villages.

A crude oil lamp known as a *kantera* (cf. Portuguese *candela*, Dutch *Kandelaar*) was used in many parts of Japan prior to the Meiji period. Made entirely of metal and usually filled with oil from the Niigata region, this device most often preceded the coming of the kerosene lamp to the various provinces by 4 or 5 years. It thus accustomed people to the use of coal oil and prepared the way for the foreign lamp, but proved no equal to the latter. When people first saw the kerosene lamps with its glass chimney and steady flame, they were often amazed. Many commented that its light was "as light as day," or "like the bright dawn after night." One man in Kiryū avowed that by the light of a kerosene lamp one could count the strands in the *tatami* at night.

One deterrent to the spread of the kerosene lamp was the smell of the burning fuel, an odor entirely new to Japanese houses. Old people in particular disliked the lamps and in many a house prevented their families from using them even after that, had been purchased. It was widely rumored that the odor was bad for silkworms, that it ruined food, and even that it was poisonous to the human system. Many believed that to burn a lamp before the gods and Buddhas was to invite divine retribution, and for many years after the spread of the oil lamp and the electric light, vegetable oil or candles continued to be burned before Buddhist or Shintō altars.

Old people distrusted the new lamps not only because they smelled bad, but because they appeared hazardous. They caught fire quickly, and the fire bid not go out when doused with water. In fact, a number of conflagrations were caused by the upsetting of oil lamps, and many families using the lamps played safe at night by using only *andon* in the sleeping rooms.

Nevertheless, the new lamps were much brighter than older methods of lighting, and they made life so much more convenient

that they were bound eventually to be accepted. By their light, women could now sew or weave at night; shopkeepers could keep their stores open later; the tending of silkworms and other household chores could be performed more easily; the children could study; dinner could be served later; there was more time to read magazines and newspapers. Furthermore, it was no longer necessary to plant rape and make one's own oil, though now one had to work harder to pay for kerosene. Most people held the lamp to be a boon since it enabled people to work later, but a few went to bed earlier to keep from using fuel.

During the boom that followed the Russo-Japanese war, the lamp was adopted virtually everywhere. There were still many, however, who did not use it as the ordinary source of light. In the towns lamps ordinary use in government offices, large stores, doctors' offices, and the houses of landlords by 1897, but most common farmers did not own them until 1916 or 1917, and even then a number of farmers used them only during holidays or on great occasions, relying at other times on *kantera* or pine roots. Electric lights were installed in this area in 1918, but though people thereafter ceased using pine root for lighting many still used *kantera* or kerosene lamps, since as a rule there was only one electric light to each house and that in the kitchen.

By and large, kerosene lamps were in use throughout the country prior to 1900, but were still too expensive for many poor people. Gradually they became more densely distributed, and in the prosperous period after World War I the people who did not yet own them bought them, but by this time electric lights were rapidly being installed everywhere, and for many families the period of the kerosene lamp was a very brief one.

(2) Electric lights. Toward the end of Meiji electric lights appeared in small cities such as Hachinoe in Aomori Prefecture, Yaji, Tsuruoka, Sakata, and Shinjō in Yamagata Prefecture,

Nakamura and Sukagawa in Fukushima Prefecture, Ikaho in Gumma Prefecture, Gyōda in Saitama Prefecture, Odawara in Kanagawa Prefecture, and Takayama and Ōta in Gifu Prefecture. Also, electric lighting became available at a comparatively early date in smaller communities lying near electric generators or along the lines carrying electricity to Tokyo and other large cities. Such, for example, was the case in the village of Ōbuchi, Fuji County, Shizuoka Prefecture, where lights were apparently installed in the Meiji thirties.

The spread of electric lights followed a different process from that witnessed in the case of kerosene lamps, for, despite certain exceptions, it was usually impossible for a few privileged people in a community to have electricity until it was available to everyone. The installation of facilities was usually a group project. Small communities were frequently unable to obtain electricity unless they happened to be located in a place that suited the power company's convenience, but in many instances a village or a neighborhood overcame this difficulty by contributing poles for wires, by raising the necessary funds themselves, or by furnishing labor for the project. Sometimes when there were too few houses the necessary conditions were met by increasing the number of streetlights. By contributing a special sum of money, wealthy people were occasionally able to secure more outlets than other residents, but such instances appear to have occurred mostly in the Taishō period.

In most rural districts, each house was at first limited to from one to three outlets. To judge from the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period*, when a family had only one lamp it was installed either in the kitchen or the adjacent hearth room (i. e. the usual living room), in either of which cases it could very well serve for both rooms, particularly if a long cord was attached. In the case of two lights, there was usually one in the kitchen or hearth room and one either in the room used for entertaining guests or in a shop or workroom. In the case of three outlets almost half the examples available indicate

that one each was installed in the kitchen, the hearthroom, and the room for entertaining guests. Otherwise either the light in the hearth room or that in the guest room was ordinarily placed in a workroom a shop, or in the dirt-floor room instead.

Electric lights spread, of course, from areas when they were in general use to neighboring districts. They were usually known and understood by the time they became available, and their introduction seems to have met with no apprehension or resistance.

Chapter Five

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

1. TRAVEL CONDITIONS PRIOR TO THE MEIJI PERIOD

DURING the Tokugawa period the shogunate maintained a network of highways linking the key areas of the nation, and at least one of these, the Tōkaidō, or Eastern Sea Route, extending from Edo to Kyoto, was praised by foreign travelers prior to the Meiji period. It would be a great mistake, however, to take the term highway as used here in anything like its modern sense, since these roads were never more than eighteen feet wide and were full of treacherous mountain passes and other similar hazards. Furthermore, aside from these arterial routes, the main purpose of which was to assure the feudal lords of a way to travel to and from Edo on their turns of duty at the shōgun's court, there were virtually no roads worthy of the name.

Needless to say, there were not many travelers either, and those who did venture forth generally went on foot, on horse-dack, or in palanquins, for there were literally no wheeled conveyances. As for cargo, the rice paid in tax to the shogunate at Edo was nearly all sent by ship, and such items as were transported by land were carried on the backs of men and animals. On the government highways there were way stations whose inhabitants were assigned carrier duty by corvee, and this constituted a terrible burden on those involved.

The principal travelers were the retinues of daimyōs, a limited number of traveling merchants and persons engaged in the

transport business, and religious pilgrims. In an age of feudal provincialism, this is about all that could be expected, but it speaks for the tightness with which the government and the feudal lords restrained movements on the part of the general populace even in the late days of the shogunate.

As if the lack of roads were not sufficient hindrance to travel, the shogunate maintained a series of road barriers and a system of travel permits. On the whole, it seems remarkable that there was any travel at all beyond those arising from the needs of government.

All this changed almost overnight in the Meiji period. The government not only ceased to hinder travel, but actively encouraged it with a program of road and railroad construction. Almost out of nowhere appeared rickshas, carts, wagons, and the like, and before the end of Meiji people thought nothing of journeys that would have defied the imagination of their parents and grandparents. Since the development of transportation facilities was one of the major achievements of the Meiji period and a very necessary element in Japan's modernization, we shall describe it in some detail in the succeeding pages.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROADS

a. People on the Streets in the Early Meiji

Edward Morse in his *Japan Day by Day* made some interesting notes on the Japanese manner of walking in the early Meiji period. At the time, he remarked, there were no sidewalks, and everyone walked in the middle of the street. After the appearance of ricksha, old people failed to understand why they should get out of the way of the new vehicles. Neither men, women, nor children kept step with each other when they walked together, and this surprised Morse since in American even schoolchildren kept in step. There was apparently no rhythm whatever to the Japanese gait, and though no Japanese

would have noticed this, it immediately impressed foreigners like Morse. His comments indicate what a great change has taken place during the past few decades in Japanese attitude toward streets and toward walking itself.

Morse first set foot on Japanese soil in 1877. In the Tokyo of that day horse-drawn buses and rickshas were to be seen everywhere, and there was a railway line extending as far as Yokohama. A few bridges and the principal roads were divided into lanes for vehicles and pedestrians, and the people were visibly trying hard to cope with the new traffic conditions, but it could not have been very simple for them to get used to walking in an orderly fashion and one imagines that they must have looked very much like a straggling group of pre-school children walking along each at his own irregular pace. People did not begin to walk in an orderly way until they had been exposed to long years of group training in school and in the military service. The Japanese whom Morse saw in Tokyo had not learned to walk in modern traffic, and they must seemed exceedingly careless and nonchalant to him.

People who came to the capital from the country were surprised at the appearance of the streets. In 1874 the following letter appeared in the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* (November 28th)

I am from the country, and for the first time in a long time I have recently come to Tokyo on business. I found wide streets like the one at Nihombashi divided into three, and brics spread along the division. The middle section was wide, and the sections on the side narrow. I asked someone in the neighborhood of Nihombashi why the people there had spread bric in the street, and he told me they were to mark the separation between the lane for horsecarts and the ones for people. He said that the raised section in the center was for horsecarts and rickshas, while the narrow sections on the sides were for people to walk on. The whole thing, he told me, was planned by the government. On hearing this I understood at once.

It is doubtful that this was really written by a person from the country, but in any event there were many who regarded the new street system with wonder and suspicion.

In 1371 the government, in an attempt to avoid collisions on the bustling streets ordered that roads be rebuilt in such a way as to allow twenty or twenty-five feet in the middle for horse-drawn vehicles and a space on each side for pedestrians. In the next year, which saw the opening of the railway to Yokohama and the establishment of the new postal system, the bridge at Nihombashi was rebuilt in the American fashion, with railings to separate the lanes. Osaka was particularly troubled by narrow streets, and in this same year traffic there was ordered to move on the right hand side. At some point, the general rule came to be for the traffic to move on the left, but the police in such busy Tokyo areas as Nihombashi and Honjo did not begin to enforce this practice until after the city streets had improved considerably. This was probably around 1910.

Imaizumi Yūsaku left the following interesting observation on Tokyo streets in his memoirs.

The period just before Meiji must have been the most mixed up of all. Men walked about the streets almost naked. Clothed in nothing but a loincloths they would sometimes carry large amounts of money in their waist bands and swagger about like lords. People who saw them would gaze in admiration and say, "My, how rich they are!" Nakedness was not prohibited until the third or fourth year of Meiji. There are few women to be seen in a proper obi. In this respect our own age is truly luxurious. The women of those times were only narrow sashes, and thought nothing of going about in summer clad only in loincloths and skirt. Only women of some means could afford obis. The alley in the Matsushima district of Nihombashi was only three feet wide and few of the people on it wore geta.

Walking about naked or barefoot was not exclusively a practice

of the late Tokugawa age and its confusion. In 1871, for instance, the government of Tokyo issued the following order forbidding nakedness outdoors:

The common people of the city, instead of wearing clothes, go out to work or to the bath virtually naked. This is a general custom, and Japanese are not inclined to criticize it, but in foreign countries it is looked down upon. Westerners consider it shameful to reveal their bodies, and they do not do it. Recently we have come into much closer contact with other countries, and many foreigners have come to Japan. If this ugly practice is left as it is, it will bring shame upon our nation. Henceforward no one, not even the poorest people, all go naked....

Nakedness then amounted to little in Japanese eyes, but had to be banned for fear that it would bring shame upon the country among foreigners. Even before this, in 1868 a government memorandum in Yokohama had forbidden urinating on the public streets, again out of deference to foreign ideas. In other words, concern for the opinion of foreigners led the government to publish a number of new orders concerning conduct on the streets, or at least the government gave this out as its motive. These commands, however, were not suited to living conditions among the people, and even though the government attempted to enforce them, the old practices continued for a long time. In 1900, a Japanese pretending to be a foreigner wrote a series on Japanese customs "as seen by a Westerner" in the *Jiji Shimpō*. It said in part:

The thing is that this nakedness is absolute nakedness. There are many people who go about their work without covering those private parts that even the most barbarous savages always cover. Although this is a practice that goes against the god-given nature of all who know shame, almost any Japanese fisherman one sees on the ocean is unclothed in his fashion....

The next astonishing thing is the fact the Japanese women

urinate on the streets. With the exception of Tokyo and the Kantō area, this practice persists in all parts of the country, including Kyoto and Osaka. Although the sight is too revolting to describe, even Japanese ladies of middle class or better consider it no shame whatever, and one is likely to see a gentleman in fine clothing doing something quite distressing at a busy intersection.

Obviously people were not terribly disturbed by the government's prohibitions, but when it became necessary for most people to ride to work on buses, nakedness became on the whole inconvenient, and the ever-increasing number of people on the streets made it necessary to build public toilets, so that nakedness and urinating in public became less common.

b. The Management of Roads and Popular

Attitudes Toward Them

The first step in the Meiji government's road development program was taken in the first month of 1869, when the barrier post maintained by the Tokugawa government along the nation's thoroughfares were abolished. There was very little objection to this, and it appears to have been carried out very quickly, but as indicated in the *Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper* for February 25, 1872, though land traffic was relieved of the old restrictions, water traffic was still subject to them. It also appears that certain old local customs concerning the import or export of commodities continued to be observed, and even in Tokyo each district (*chō*) appears to have had charge of its own roads. Hasegawa Nyozezan wrote as follows in his "Confessions of One Man's Heart":

In the age of the temple school (*terakoya*) there was a practice as known as *chōnai-okuri*, or delivering children from district to district. Between each district there was a wooden gate, and in order to go to the temple school,

a child often had to pass several of these. In such cases his family delivered him to the gate of their district and then entrusted him to someone in the next district in order to be sure that he did not run off and play hookey. When I was a boy I often saw school children giving the maid or houseboy who had been sent along with them a hard time. Some of them would lie down by the way-side and refuse to go further. My own younger brother, a painter who used the name Ono Shizukata and who died before the war, was sent to school in this fashion.

To judge from this, the barriers erected between districts in the Edo period had not completely disappeared even after the beginning of Meiji. A record of the district assembly in the seventh district of Shiba-Tamachi, Tokyo, dated 1877, states that children abandoned within the area would be rescued and sent to the country to be brought up. The district allowed a certain amount of money each month to cover the living and medical expenses of such foundlings. At the same time the assembly also set aside an amount of money for disposing of dead dogs found in district. It appears therefore, that in this respect, at least, supervision of roads within the districts was fairly thorough.

In the castle town of Fukuoka, Iwate Prefectures, it is said, when a corpse was found on the road it was taken into custody by the nearest house, which then delivered it to the house next door, and so on up to the head of the community. The implication of this is that even within the district each household had charge of the road in front of its property. Very likely this custom persisted in many places until the roads widened.

Morse wrote that in Tokyo one often saw laborers repairing roads, but that they worked only on the middle section, leaving the sidewalk for the residents along the way to keep in condition. He also recorded that families of all classes considered it part of the daily house-cleaning to sweep and sprinkle water on the road in front of their houses. In Tokyo in 1869

there were district proclamations against neglecting the cleaning of roads, and in 1872 the following order was issued to the nation as a whole:

Recently the cleaning of the roads has been neglected to the extent that it can no longer be tolerated. This should be called the attention of local officials, and until the road system had been completed, the following cleaning regulations should be observed not only on those roads the cleaning of which has been assigned previously, but on all others, the task being allotted fairly to the nearest district or village.

1. Despite rain or other inclement weather, all roads should be cleaned once every three months. . . .
2. After a rain each road should be cleaned and water puddles drained into ditches on the right and left sides of road.
3. In case trees lining the road are broken down by wind or snow, appropriate steps would be taken by the authorities in charge, but in any event the road should be cleared of such obstacles immediately.
4. In the event that there is no ditch on the side of the road, the edges of the road are to be deepened so that water can flow off the middle.
5. Signs indicating who is in charge of each road segment have often been allowed to fall into neglect. It should be indicated exactly what country, village, and district has charge of each segment and the distance to north, south, east, and west should be made clear.
6. In many places road beds have been cut so close to the surrounding field that trees by the side of the road have insufficient ground and are easily uprooted. This situation should not be permitted in the future. The above rules shall be strictly observed, and in case of neglect, inspecting officials shall take note and report.

Also in the month before the above was issued the following

order was given in Osaka Prefecture.

The transport of goods and the coming and going of horses and vehicles, which are necessary to the management of transactions between human beings, are dependent upon the condition of the highways. If highway facilities are good, they promote the advancement of enlightenment, but at present neither national thoroughfares nor the village byways are being properly cared for. Persons cultivating land along them have on occasion planted or build houses on the roads, so that the width of a given road varies from place to place. In other instances the roads are so bumpy that transport along them has become very inconvenient. From now on, the most diligent care must be taken in repairing highways. Regulations concerning roads and trees alongside them are given below. . . .

On May 6, 1873, it was forbidden to cut trees along highways without permission. From all this, it is clear that the roads had been allowed to fall into a wretched state. This was doubtless due in part to the fact that the military class had been reduced by the Restoration to such straits that it could no longer afford the upkeep of the lands and roads in its position, but it was also due to the general confusion of the time-confusion reflected in such practices as building houses or cultivating crops on section of roads.

To be sure, the custom of carrying for the road before one's own house or in one's own little district remained in existence, but this in itself indicated that roads were not thought of as public facilities in a broad sense. In the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* for November 28, 1874, a letter-writer complained that merchants piled their goods on streets in front of their shops and that even where this was not true, street venders monopolized the sidewalks to the extent that there was no place for people to pass. In Osaka in 1879 merchants were forbidden to pile their goods on the street or otherwise to interfere with traffic, and in 1871 a prohibition was issued against enlarging shops or

houses into the streets. Still, people had a tendency to regard the segment of road in front of their house as part of their property, and this view was perhaps strengthened by their habit of cleaning it. Regulations forbidding the private use of the streets appeared from time to time but the police had, and still have, trouble enforcing them.

The old custom of exacting a fee from travelers who crossed one's property had probably disappeared by the Meiji period, but in certain villages passing wedding processions or the like were required to pay what was called "wine money" to the residents, and when children were sent on errands to neighborhoods other than their own, they were often pelleted with stones or otherwise mistreated by the local urchins, as many persons over fifty who were brought up in the country well remember. The government barriers on the arterial highways had been abolished, and theoretically traffic was free, but if one wondered into rural byways one was likely to encounter private barriers, and when some incident took place in a locality, the resident were likely to halt passers-by in the same way that the old barrier officials had. Offenses such as the one in the following quotation were also prepared:

When a woman of eligible age passes, students as well as ricksha men, grooms and apprentices purposely insult her with indecent language or obscene conduct. In walking the streets of the city for two hours one evening I saw women taunted by men three times, suffer indecent actions one time be pestered by ricksha pullers six times. Once a woman was knocked out of the way by a student, and another was rubbed on the cheek by a man. Also I saw a group of five or six women stopped by a bunch of students as they tried to pass. When the women went to the right the boys into the right, and when the women went to the left the boys did too, so that the women were unable to pass.

This sort of thing seems to have been most usual up

until the middle of the Meiji period, and many older women today remember such incidents as those described.

In Dispatch No. 60 of the chancellery, issued in 1876, the government designated most roads as public thoroughfares and classified them as national, prefectural, or village highways. Needless to say, however, this did not immediately change the prevailing conception of roads. People's thinking in this respect was altered only gradually and in response not to a single government order, but to the progressive widening of highways, the increase in traffic, the erecting of telegraph poles, the laying of water, gas, and sewage pipes, and so on.

In provincial areas, it is common even today for people to throw water on the streets in front of their houses, and this is no doubt all right as long as the water is sanitary, but as early as 1888, this practice became a serious problem in cities like Tokyo and Yokohama, largely because people threw so much water at one time that traffic was hindered by mud and the roadbeds damaged. The government issued several orders directing the people to sprinkle only a little water at a time, but the streets of the cities were unpaved, and even a slight breeze, not to speak of the many passing horses and vehicles, was enough to stir up a lot of dust, so that the urge to dampen the streets was strong—so strong, in fact, that they were constantly muddy. This problem was not solved until the streets were paved, but paving was by no means a simple matter. The cities had to be resectioned and the roads widened, and this involved buying up property from the people bit by bit. In Tokyo as early as 1871 road damage caused by the tremendous increase in traffic had become so serious that the government imposed a tax on vehicles to raise money for repairs. The various government orders against throwing quantities of water on the streets pointed up the need for improvement, but the government was unable during the Meiji period to provide a system of paved streets.

c. The Development of Roads

In the Statistical Report on the Metropolitan District of Tokyo (Tokyo-fu Tokei-sho) for 1886 and 1892, figures on the principal streets of Tokyo are listed. The irregularity in width is surprising. Take the following for example:

Maximum and Minimum Width of Principal Streets in Tokyo

(Unit=1 ken=about 6 ft.)

Name of Highway	Section	Maximum Width		Minimum Width	
		1886	1892	1886	1892
Tōkaidō	From Nihombashi to Shinagawa-juku	15	15	4	4
	From Shinagawa-juku to Kanagawa border	9	9	4	4
Kōshūkaidō	From No. 1 Nihombashi to Naitō Shinjuku	11	11	5	5
	From Naitō Shinjuku to Kanagawa border	6	6	3	3.5
Atsugikaidō	From Nagatachō to Kanagawa border	8	12	2	2.5
Ōmekaidō	From Naitō Shinjuku to Kanagawa border	6	6	3	3
Nakasendō	From Nihombashi to Shimo-Itabashi-juku	10	12	4	4
	From Shimo-Itabashi-juku to Saitama border	7	7	3	3
Rikuzen-hama Kaidō	From Senjū-juku to Shinjuku-chō	4	4	2	2
	From Shinjuku-chō to Chiba border	3	3	2	2

Obviously, the road-construction program still had a long, long way to go.

As for Osaka, in the tenth month of 1872, the municipal

government decreed the following widths for the principal streets :

<i>Highway</i>	<i>Interval</i>	<i>Width</i>
Tōkaidō	From Noda Village by way of Imaichi Village to Kawachi	3 <i>ken</i>
Yamazaki Kaidō	From Yamazaki by way of Akutagawa to Nishinomiya	2 "
Ibaraki Kaidō	From Nagae-watashi by way of Ibaraki to Yamazaki	2 "
Chūgoku Kaidō	From Kitano Village by way of Jūsan-watashi to Nishinomiya	2 "
Ikeda Kaidō	From Ikeda by way of Honjo-watashi to Nose-Tamba	2 "
Sumiyoshi Kaidō	By way of Sakai to Ki'i Province	3 "
Nara Kaidō	By way of the Villages of Nakamichi and Fukai to Kawachi	2 "
Kōya Kaidō	By way of the plain in Ten'nōji Village to Kawachi	3 "

At the end of this list there appeared the following notation :
 "In the event that the road should at present be wider than herein decreed, it shall nevertheless not be made narrower."

<i>Village Highways</i>	<i>Length in which width</i>
<i>Total Length</i>	<i>is 1 ken or more</i>
1,604.618 <i>ken</i>	398,694 <i>ken</i>
1,806.826 "	458,992 "
1,841.160 "	470,439 "

The figures listed were probably those specified during the Tokugawa period. The government had not reached the stage of widening the roads. It was merely trying to keep them from becoming still narrower.

The chancellery's order of 1876 specified that national highways should be 7 *ken* (about 42 feet) or more in width, of which 4 *ken* or more should be devoted to the roadbed and 3

ken or more to drainage ditches and rows of trees. Prefectural highways were to be between 4 and 5 *ken* wide, and the width of village roads was left unfixed. The only means of carrying out this order was to rezone the areas in question and buy up the land designated for construction projects. To be sure, the cities of the Meiji period frequently suffered from great fires, but, as Dr. Beltz noted in 1876, houses were rebuilt with astonishing speed, and it appears that the government was unable to take advantage of the destruction to widen the roads. The *Statistical Report on the Metropolitan District of Tokyo* gives the following figures pertaining to road widening:

Year	National Highways Total Length	Length in which Width is 3 <i>ken</i> or more	Prefectural Highways Total Length	Length in which Width is 2 <i>ken</i> or more
1886	120,635 <i>ken</i>	17,210 <i>ken</i>	19,841 <i>ken</i>	4,125 <i>ken</i>
1892	125,635 "	16,583 "	18,664 "	3,647 "
1902	125,214 "	15,904 "	41,929 "	3,647 "

It is apparent that little progress was being made. The trouble was simply that there was not enough space to expand into. In the cities, the government tried to force back the houses and building, but thereby aroused constant dissent, while in the country, where the road program cut into farm lands, there were vociferous complaints of unfairness. Often to avoid depriving farms of their land the government chose crooked round about routes for its highways. Sometimes it was virtually forced to do so by influential provincial landowners.

During 1906, when a prefectural road in the area of Yokose, Katsura County, Tokushima Prefecture, was to be widened and improved, a group of porters who had been engaged in transporting forest products by foot opposed the project for fear that the coming of vehicles would throw them out of work. After the road was widened, however, most of them seem to have found work in the forests farther inland where vehicles were still unusable.

One of the great problems in this mountainous country was to avoid grades too steep for vehicles. The work was often perilous. In 1879, for example several men were killed or wounded while working on a prefectural road in Wakimoto Village, Nishi-Akita County, Akita Prefecture. Still, much work of this sort was accomplished during the Meiji period. For instance, a tunnel begun under the famous Utsunomiya Pass on the Tōkaidō in 1872 was completed in 1874, and the Kuriko Tunnel joining Yonezawa and Fukushima was opened in 1880. Roads in mountainous areas also entailed the construction of many new bridges.

The question arises as to who actually did the work on the new highways. In 1874, when the metropolitan government of Osaka undertook a road-construction program, it appears to have employed a form of corvée to bay workers, but the most usual system in the cities was probably that described by Yokoyama Gen'nosuke in his *Lower Class Society in Japan* (*Nihon no Katō Shakai*) as follows:

There was no end of construction work. In the city of Tokyo several tens of thousands of day-laborers were being employed. Most of them were destitute people working as coolies on the building and repair of roads and bridges.

Three construction gangs, called the Doboku Yōtatsugumi, the Arima-gumi, and the Nagai Company, were given special privileges by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. They took charge of projects, acted as construction bosses, hired coolies, and brought the various tasks to completion. The coolies of Samekawa-bashi, Mannen-chō, and such districts were for the large part employed by these contractors.

In the country the old tradition had been for each village or neighborhood to build or repair its roads by cooperative effort, and the government seems to have made use of this custom in various districts. For instance, in 1885, when a national highway was constructed from Yasaka by way of the Hōshaku-ji to

Kuroise, each house in the vicinity contributed the equivalent of three and one-half men for the work, without remuneration.

The highway program posed many problems and aroused much opposition, but the newspapers of the time carried articles that indicated considerable popular support for it as well. For example, the following appeared in the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* in the eighth month of 1872:

On the border between the provinces of Etchū and Echigo there was a dangerous spot called Oyashirazu Komagaeshi. Situated on the side of a cliff overlooking the ocean, it was perhaps one of the most treacherous stretches of road in Japan. In the fall and winter traffic was always cut off for a number of days by high waves, and occasionally a traveler was washed into the sea and drowned. Everyone recognized the danger, and at the end of the Tokugawa period the feudal districts using the road discussed the idea of building a new one. However, some people argued, after the fashion of the stoic, old militaristic era, that treacherous roads made good strongholds, and the water was dropped. Then the era of progress and enlightenment came, and people realized not only that human life is too sacred to be thrown away so lightly as in the old days, but also that the stoppage of the mails for several days was detrimental to both private and public good. Consequently, the prefecture petitioned the Ministry of Finance, and the latter granted a huge sum of money for building a new road. The work was begun, and the people were overjoyed at the government's generosity... In a short while we shall be able to report the completion of the project.

There were no doubt many other areas in which the climate of opinion favored breaking down the traditions of the feudal past and constructing a good highway system. Needless to say, horse-and-carriage companies and the like supported the program.

Other problems arose, however. For example, in January,

1873, the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* reported as follows:

Along the roads in Yamagata Prefecture there were stones inscribed to the deity of Mt. Yudono, along with sculptured images of other gods or Buddhas and miniature pagodas. Last month the prefectural authorities issued strict orders for all of these to be removed.

It is uncertain how many of the images were actually removed, but orders of this type appear to have been carried out to some extent in many localities. Some of these stones and statues were associated with popular beliefs, and others were memorials of one sort or another. Often they were located at crossroads, at the edge of a village, at the summit of a mountain pass, or at a spot where someone had met with disaster, and many of them were regarded as protector of community life. When an epidemic was spreading, for instance, villagers besought the gods of the road to prevent it from entering their community. Regulations such as those issued by Yamagata Prefecture represented an attack on popular religion, but at the same time they must also have helped to break down the old-fashioned isolationism of provincial communities—that is to say, the idea that if the village were cut off from the outside world by a deity, it could live in peace.

Tokutomi Kenjiro reminisced as follows in his *Record of My Memories (Omoide no Ki)*

It had been nineteen years to the day since I had left my native village.

"The roads are much better, aren't they, Shin-san?" I asked the driver.

My mother, sitting in the front of the carriage with a child in her arms, turned around and laughed.

Actually when Shin-san had carried us up that road on his horse nineteen years before, the poor animal could hardly make it over the rocky, bumpy path. Now it was a prefectural highway, fine and smooth as glass.

Much progress then was made in the Meiji period. Where

rain had once prevented children from going to school, horses, wagons, and bicycles now moved in all climes. Villages that had once been isolated in bad weather were gradually joined together by roads worthy of the name.

3. THE RISE AND FALL OF MAN-POWERED VEHICLES

The Spread of Baggage Cars and Rickshas

During the Tokugawa period man-powered vehicles such as the *daihachi-guruma* in Edo and the *beka-guruma* in Osaka were employed, but all of them were very primitive affairs. The *beka-guruma* for example was ponderous and had solid wooden wheels, while the wheels of the *daihachi-guruma*, though spoked, were so heavy that the vehicle could not easily be pulled by one man unless someone pushed from the rear. In brief, the trouble with these two vehicles was that they lacked metal wheels, and it was for this reason that they were rendered obsolete by the ricksha and pullcart (*niguruma*), both of which did.

In an early Meiji record of industries and occupations in Hongō Ward, Tokyo, the number of various vehicles in use in the world's sixty-three districts was given as follows:

	1872	1875
Pullcarts (Number of districts in which used)	126*(21)	524 (24)
Horsecarts (")	—	16 (6)
Ricksha (")	1030 (40)	1531 (58)

* In addition there were 13 small carts, and if these be added the number of districts is 23. It appears from this that in Hongō, whose main street connected with the important Nakasendō Highway, there were very few pullcarts in 1872, whereas rickshas were relatively numerous. In the other hand, the following figures show that while the number of rickshas increased throughout most of the Meiji period, the number of pullcarts increased far more.

Number of Rickshas and Pullcarts. Throughout the Country.		
Year	Number of Rickshas	Number of Pullcarts
1875	113,921	115,680
1878	142,656	196,939
1883	170,079	420,705
1888	171,589	640,571
1893	199,411	914,830
1898	204,419	1,263,226
1903	185,087	1,348,872
1908	165,230	1,520,283
1912	134,232	1,775,751

Since the ricksha is in essence a pullcart with a seat or palanquin added on top, one would naturally suppose that the pullcart was the earlier form, but curiously the figures given above for Hongō Ward indicate just the opposite. As for the earliest rickshas, they are described as follows in *The History of Fukagawa Ward* (*Fukagawa-ku-shi*)

The form was very simple. Around a seat platform four columns were erected, and a top was placed thereon, with curtains hangings on all four sides. This was set on wheels. The whole thing was made of plain wood. At first there was no hood, and when it rained oil paper was used for a covering. The hood was invented by a middle-aged man of Shiba (in Tokyo), named Uchida Kanzaemon. Afterwards Akiba Taisuke made great improvements, such as replacing the four column with a box cab, furnishing steps like those on buggies, lacquering the body of the cab, and attaching metal rims to the wheels. In later times, Akiba was mistakenly regarded as the inventor of the vehicle.

Before turning his hand to the ricksha, Akiba imported a horse-and-coach and opened a bus service between Tokyo and Kawasaki. In the eighth month of 1869, he set up a ricksha factory and tried to promote the new vehicle. . . By 1874 or 1875, the vehicle had virtually been perfected, and the demand for it had grown very large.

There are many theories as to who invented the ricksha, but Akiba Taisuke's factory appears indeed to have been the birth-place of the ricksha with metal-rimmed wheels. After these were added, the demand for rickshas increased at an astonishing rate. The *Newspaper Journal* (*Shimbun Zasshi*) reported in 1871 that "the number of rickshas in Tokyo increases daily, and there are already 25,000 of them." At first the carriers of the old-fashioned sedan chairs had scoffed at the ricksha-pullers, but by this time the number of sedan chairs in use, formerly around 10,000, had shrunk to only a third of that figure. The rickshas were cheaper and faster, and even if 25,000 seems dubiously large, it is clear that the ricksha men were more than holding their own. According to the report on Hongō Ward cited above not a simple sedan chair was still in use in that area in 1872.

In contrast to the history of the ricksha, that of the pullcart is completely obscure. Specifically, it is uncertain when or where iron-rimmed wheels were adopted, and this is important since whatever the improvements in the highway system the rapid spread of the pullcart would never have occurred had metal wheels not been added.

The increase in pullcarts in three major cities is tabulated below.

Year	<i>Number of Pullcarts in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya</i>					
	<i>Large size</i>			<i>Medium & Small sizes</i>		
	<i>Tokyo</i>	<i>Osaka</i>	<i>Nagoya</i>	<i>Tokyo</i>	<i>Osaka</i>	<i>Nagoya</i>
1882		3,252	87	31,441	10,415	4,387
1887	690	2,628		38,208	15,931	
1892	615	2,853	2,313	70,544	21,454	4,419
1897	660	4,962	3,171	56,103	31,892	7,234
1902	1,155	5,081	2,450	60,669	37,373	7,943
1907	709	7,203	2,475	65,482	48,880	12,668

Note: The figures for Tokyo and Nagoya listed under 1882 are actually for 1884.

1. Includes all sizes.

2. For 1898.

3. For 1901.

The majority of the carts were of medium or small size, but it is interesting to observe that in Osaka alone there was a pronounced increase in large ones. This is very likely because the streets of Osaka were too narrow for larger types of vehicles, (streetcars, for instance, were not used until after 1907) whereas the volume of trade was quite large.

In early Meiji carts were classed by the Osaka government as follows:

	Length	Width	Diameter of wheel
Large	8 ft.	2½ ft.	3½ ft.
Medium	7 "	2 "	3 "
Small	6 "	2 "	2½ "

The carts seem to have been a headache to the city officials because of the narrow streets. In the first month of 1870, it was ruled that each cart must bear a license and seal of approval, and a tax of 1½ ryō of gold per vehicle was imposed. Pullers were ordered to cry out continuously to warn pedestrians of their approach and were forbidden to leave their vehicles on the street untended. Loads were limited to 60 *kan* (about 510 pounds), and in the event that the load exceeded half that amount two pullers had to be used. Still, whereas carts had in the past been forbidden to cross bridges, in the third month of 1871 they were permitted to do so, provided the load did not exceed the 60-*kan* limit. Presumably the subsequent improvements in the road system led to further relaxation of the regulations.

The *Report on Life in the Meiji Period* (*Meiji Seikatsu Chōsa Hōkoku*) records the following developments concerning pullcarts in various areas:

(1) In 1876 when the Okushin Highway was repaired, ten pullcarts were brought to Kitsuregawa (Shioya County, Tochigi Prefecture), which was a former castle town and a regular stop on the aforesaid highway.

(2) People of the village of Inaku (Nagaoka County, Kōchi Prefecture) had been accustomed to packing their goods on their backs and going in small boats to the market in the city of Kōchi, but in 1899 a county highway was completed, and thereafter pullcarts came into common use.

(3) Between 1882 and 1905 roads were greatly improved in the vicinity of the town of Ayabe, Kyoto Metropolitan Prefecture. In the past the people of the area had ordinarily carried wood and vegetables to market on their backs, but as roads improved they adopted pullcarts and later horse-or ox-drawn wagons. In Maizuru at one point mail was being carried regularly in pullcarts.

The same source mentions a number of other cases in which the opening of prefectural or village roads led to the adoption of pullcarts where formerly people had carried things on their backs or loaded them on the backs of animals.

The first highways to be developed, however, were the principal national and prefectural routes, and it was only after a considerably lapse of time that township and village roads were improved. For that reason, many farmers did not have their own pullcarts until a comparatively late date, and the persons who profited most from the vehicle were probably those who lived along the main routes and operated carrier services.

4. THE MANUFACTURE OF VEHICLES AND CHANGES IN THE RICKSHA

It is surprising that the pullcart and ricksha, both of which were manufactured in tiny private factories, multiplied so in the early Meiji period. Somehow manufacturing techniques had developed sufficiently to meet the sudden tremendous demand for the vehicles, but unfortunately the history of this development is totally obscure. *The History of Osaka in the Meiji and Taishō Periods* (Meiji Taishō Osaka-shi-shi) has the following to say of Akiba Daisuke and an Osaka man named Tobihisa

who worked in cooperation with him:

Akiba and Tobihisa working together made ten rickshas three of which Tobihisa brought back to Osaka. Later Tobihisa brought in one hundred more, and in the third month of 1871 he set up a ricksha company at No. 1 Kōrai-bashi, which he called "Branch Office of Akiba Taisuke at No. 4 Ginza." In the beginning Tokihisa used only rickshas made in the Tokyo factory, of which he received eighty or one hundred on each mail ship. People welcomed the vehicles, which they called "Daisuke cart," and in 1875, Tokihisa's shop imported 2000 of them.

Apparently Daisuke's factory on the Ginza was capable of producing in considerable quantity, though it could not have been a very large-scale enterprise by modern standards. The establishment at No. 4 Ginza was described by a near-contemporary source as follows:

In the alley between the Tenkin Restaurant and the Hattori Watch Company there was a *sushi* shop, and right in front of that a stone Western-style house, which as I recall was Akiba Taisuke's residence. Akiba's factory was between this house and the Tenkin, but it extended on one side out to the Ginza, where Akiba kept a shop. He made two-passenger rickshas decorated with gold-and-lacquer designs of peonies or lions. . . , and these he sold to an eager public as far afield as Shanghai and the South Seas. He decorated his shop windows with his vehicles, and inside the store he was often to be seen talking business with his customers. In the factory at the rear there was a smithy where workers were hammering out axles for the wheels.

Next door was a shop named Kondō, which sold umbrella frames. Taisuke's factory, then, does not appear to have been very big, but to judge from a list of early Meiji enterprises listed in the *History of Hongō ward (Hongō-ku-shi)*, the manufacture of cabs, hoods, and decorations for rickshas was farmed

out to other companies, and it is probable that Akiba's factory did no more than make the metal equipment and assemble the finished product.

By 1875 there were other smaller factories producing from 130 to 150 rickshas per year, but it is not clear whether these were subsidiaries producing high-class rickshas for Akiba or independent concerns catering to the relative few who bought rickshas for private use. In 1880, an Osaka man named Wasa Seikichi opened a factory which subsequently expanded and became (in 1896) the Osaka Ricksha Manufacturing Corporation. In 1901 it produced more than 15,000 vehicles, worth altogether ¥258,000 on the market. Fifteen producers entered rickshas in the National Industrial Exhibit of 1903. Rickshas were to be seen on the streets of Shanghai as early as 1874, and by 1881 or 1882 they were being exported to Hong Kong, India, and Singapore. Presumably the foreign demand was met by large manufacturers like Akiba and Wasa.

One passage in Morse's memoirs indicates that rickshas in Kagoshima and other provincial areas had special local features, but one is inclined to suspect that Morse mistook vehicles that had gone out of style in Tokyo and Osaka and been sent to the provinces for original local inventions.

As rickshas grew more and more numerous, competition among operators stiffened, and this led to improved service. In Kyoto the vehicles were furnished with charcoal heaters in the winter, and in Tokyo drivers gave their customers newspapers to read along the way. In 1879, when there was an epidemic of cholera, a container of carbolic acid was placed in each cab so that it could be disinfected between customers, and in August, 1877, cabs were furnished with meters for measuring the distance traveled. Orders came from Penang for two-passenger vehicles with leather tops and lacquer paintings, while an Indian customer asked for double mudguards and bells. It appears from the records of rickshas entered in industrial fairs that a galaxy of fashions as tried and discarded before the manufactures finally

settled on the black rubber-tired model that became standard.

In early Meiji two-passenger models were more in demand than one-passenger models, at least in Tokyo. In Fukagawa Ward in 1880, for instance, there were 710 of the former and only 371 of the latter. Below are the figures for Hongō Ward:

	One-Passenger Models	Two-Passenger Models
1879	297	874
1887	528	1,584
1892	1,940	611

Here too the two-passenger models prevailed at first, but around 1890 they lost ground to the smaller vehicles. The totals for the whole of Tokyo are as follows:

Number of Rickshas in Tokyo

Year	Total Number of Rickshas	One-passenger Models	Two-passenger Models
1889	36,785	18,566	18,219
1890	38,776	21,756	17,020
1891	39,349	25,418	13,931
1892	40,823	28,647	12,176
1897	42,282	35,772	6,510
1902	43,273	40,161	3,112
1907	26,809	25,793	1,016
1912	20,526	20,268	258

Here again it appears that one-passenger rickshas began to be the more numerous around 1890. These figures, however, are only for commercial vehicles, and they do not include those used by officials, companies banks, rich people, or doctors. How many private rickshas there were at the height of the vehicles' popularity we do not know, but in 1911 there were 3,416 of which some 63 were two-passenger models, and it is possible that the ratio between one- and two-passenger rickshas actually on the streets in Tokyo may have been quite different from that indicated by the above statistics. As a matter of fact, at the end of February, 1882, the Tokyo Basha Tetsudō Co., which was about to begin a bus service, counted the

number of rickshas and horsedrawn carriages that passed Manseibashi, Asakusabashi, and Shimbashi in one week and arrived at the following daily averages :

	Manseibashi	Asakusabashi	Shimbashi
One-passenger rickshas	5,145	3,580	2,580
Number of passengers	5,145	3,580	2,580
Two-passenger rickshas	869	1,413	854
Number of passenger	1,738	2,826	1,708
Horse-drawn carriages	34	792	388
Number of passengers	365	4,253	2,243

This indicates that even in the period when two-passenger vehicles were more numerous, one-passenger models were more often seen in traffic. No explanation for this phenomenon has been offered.

At the beginning of Meiji two-passenger rickshas were fairly common in Osaka and Nagoya too, especially in the amusement districts, but they were never numerous than the one-passenger type, as they were in Tokyo. In September 3, 1875, the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* carried a rather incomprehensible letter which seems to mean something like the following :

Recently our prefecture prohibited men and women from riding together in the same vehicle. Now the men who showed off by mixing knees and making love with prostitutes, as well as the ones who made overtures to respectable young women riding with them have had their hopes dashed. Ugly practices have been swept away in one happy moment.

Presumably this may be construed to mean that the prefecture in question forbade women and men to ride together for fear of damage to public morals, and official actions of this sort may have deterred the spread of two-passenger vehicles, but this still does not explain why, having been numerous for a time in Tokyo, they then gave way to single-passenger models, and for that matter, nothing in the statistics kept by the ricksha companies indicates that the two passenger in a two-passenger vehicles were invariably male and female. In later years there

appears to have developed a general idea that if one person pulled only one person should ride, but this could hardly have been the case at first. On the contrary, one suspects that when the ricksha was new, pullers took pride in displaying the fact that it could carry a heavy load. The main competition, it will be recalled, was from the palanquin, and only one person could ride in a palanquin, though two were required to carry it. It is not probable, then, that the two-passenger ricksha was in a sense a device intended to point up the inefficiency of the palanquin? If this is the answer, then it is only logical that this type of ricksha should flourish primarily in Tokyo, since Tokyo was the birthplace of the ricksha and the scene of its struggle against the palanquin for supremacy. On the other hand, when palanquins had more or less passed out of existence, the single-passenger ricksha was no doubt found to be more convenient, and it was this type that prevailed when the ricksha reached the height of its popularity.

Even after rickshas began to decline in number, they were restyled in various ways, the most important innovation being the adoption of rubber wheels. In connection with this development, the *Niroku Newspaper* for September 12, 1909, carried the following interesting article:

RUBBER-TIRED RICKSHAS

— ANYBODY WHO IS ANYBODY RIDES THEM —

For all the bright pictures of dragons, lions and peonies that adorned the old-style rickshas, the modern version, with its solid black cab, its nickel-plated wheels, its rubber tires, and its prosperous-sounding bell is a great improvement. Indeed, the fine gentlemen of our time would be as lost without their rubber-tired rickshas as without their trousers. Private rickshas of the old type have almost disappeared from the streets of Tokyo, and the new style has spread to commercial vehicles as well. Customers have come to demand the luxury of rubber tires even for a short ride,

and more and more professional cab companies are giving in to the trend.

We have tried to discover who invented the new ricksha, but have had no success. We suppose that someone saw rubber tires on Western-style buggies and wheelbarrows, decided to try them on a ricksha, found that they worked quite well, and thus created a fashion. However that may be, as far as we know the first private ricksha with tires appeared in 1903 and belonged to the Honorable Kikuchi Chōshirō of the House of Peers. The next year, the proprietor of the Iroha, Mr. Kimura Shōhei, added tires to his famous red ricksha, and no sooner had he appeared on the streets in it, than Mr. Watanabe Chiaki, Mr. Kurino Shin'ichirō, Mr. Mitsui Yōnosuke, Mr. Sōda Heigorō, Mr. Glover of Mitsubishi, and other gentlemen rushed to put in their orders. Having spread among the well-known men about town in 1905, the style was adopted by actors and then by geisha. First Kawakami Otojirō, who is so fond of being different, had a new-style ricksha made, and then Onoe Baikō. Shikan and Nōshi, not to be left out, quickly followed suit. Then Rokkin, Someko, and Tsutayakko, all geisha in Hinokimono-chō, bought rubber-tired rickshas for their private use, and the Hatsunoya in Shimbashi, the Kameya in Yoshi-chō, and other establishments in the geisha world took up the style. Anybody who was anybody, it seems, rose on rubber...

Then the ricksha pullers discerned the signs of the times, and last year the Hōrai Gang at Shimbashi Station who cater to Yokohama merchants, bought fifty rubber-tired vehicles. This year the pullers at Ueno Station bought seventy. At this rate, the old-style rickshas will soon disappear from the city.

We questioned the famous Akiba Company on the Ginza about the growth of the new fashion and were told that whereas in 1903 the firm received orders for only thirty

rubber-tired rickshas, the number rose to 100 in 1904, more than 300 in 1905, and 700 in 1906. Last year it leaped to 1500, and it will certainly be double that this year. This includes only Akiba's production figures, and while they are probably the largest, other companies, such as Inoue in Kanda, Ogura in Hongō, Fujiki in Shin-tomichō, and Miyagi on the Ginza are no doubt experiencing the same shift in demand.

There are three styles of rubber-tired rickshas. The best are those with nickel-plated wheels, and the next best are the models with wooden wheels set on ball-bearings. These two types are mostly private rickshas. On commercial rickshas, the tires are set into the rims of wooden wheels, and there are no bearings.

We asked two pullers whether the rubber tires made their work easier or not. One said they were light and easy to pull, but the other said that while they were light enough they tired him because they did not make any noise. The clanging of the old iron wheels, he explained, stirred up his spirit of competition and made him feel like working. No doubt he is a victim of habit and has not had time to accustom himself to the novelty.

Like automobiles in later days, then, rubber-tired rickshas were first used as private vehicles by the class that could afford luxury and comfort, but were later taken up by professional carriers. The carriers did not switch until around 1908, but only two years later the *Niroku Newspaper* reported that six or seven out of every ten rickshas in Tokyo had rubber tires. By the time tires began spreading to the province, the Dunlop Rubber Company of England was publishing large advertisements in the Tokyo newspapers and thus adding its bit to the fad.

5. THE MEN WHO PULLED

As one might suspect from the fact that small pulicarts were

much more numerous than large ones, the majority of such vehicles belonged to wholesalers and other tradesmen rather than to professional drayers. This was more and more the case as time went on.

The following table shows the number of carts in use in the city of Tokyo and in the suburban districts under the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government :

Year		Tokyo	Suburban Districts	Total
1902		61,824	48,817	110,641
1907		66,191	64,405	130,596
1911	Large	692	1,388	2,079
	Small	67,326	80,050	147,376
1916	Large	570	1,031	1,601
	Small	63,164	93,789	156,953

As this indicates, the number of pullcarts within the city of Tokyo remained fairly static in the last years of Meiji, but the number in the outlying districts increased rapidly. This is due partially to the widening of suburban roads, but it also reflects the increase in traffic between the suburbs and the city after the Russo-Japanese war. This, we might observe, was the age in which the inhabitants of the city began to be awakened by the cries of farmers selling fresh fruits and vegetables.

It was also the age of the carter. According to *Lower Class Society in Japan*, around 1898, pulling a cart required a strong, healthy body, but it was about the best paid work there was for ordinary day laborers. A cart-puller probably made six or seven one-mile trips per day, hauling a load of five or six hundred pounds. The most common cargo was rice from the Fukagawa area, but lumber and bricks from Kanda, Shiba, and Asakusa also made up a good percentage of the load. In general there were two types of people engaged in the hauling business: the entrepreneur, who owned a large number of carts, and the puller, who rented a vehicle from the entrepreneur and did the actual work. In addition there were pullers who owned their own carts and small operators with two or

three carts who let their vehicles out on hire. The latter were particularly numerous in Kanda, a college district in which carts were often needed temporarily by book stores or by students moving from one boarding house to the next.

The center of the hauling business was Fukagawa, with its rice, fish, and vegetable markets. Many of the cart-pullers in this area seem to have been affiliated with bosses, who lent them carts in return for twenty or twenty-five per cent of their fees. The boss' cut was so large that the pullers as a rule led a hard life, and most of them lived in the slums. As if their earnings were not small enough, they often had to pay wayside loafers to help them up the many hills in Tokyo. A number of idlers, incidentally, made a business of such work, and a few of them were usually to be found at the bottom of hills like Kudan and Yushima waiting for the carters to come along. These people were the lowest and the laziest of the coolies. In the winter they slept in flophouses, and in the summer they inhabited Ueno and Asakusa Parks, along with the beggars. Some were merchants or able-bodied workmen who had fallen on bad times. Others were syphilitic wrecks. As a whole they could hardly be classed as haulers, but for a time they were a necessary part of the hauling business in Tokyo, for the regular carters depended on them. After the streets were improved, however, their help became unnecessary except on steep hills, and toward the end of the Meiji period there seems to have been a certain amount of competition among them. The *Niroku Newspaper* for September 19, 1909, said, in speaking of these wayfarers:

Seven men have taken over Kudan Hill. They have even made work jackets on which they have printed the name of their "union." All of them have been on the hill for ten years or more, and they refuse to let anyone else in on their business. They tell newcomers that they have been asked by the police to stand watch, and (to maintain this fiction) they work in turns, but they divide the returns

equally, and everything seems to work out all right.

By 1911 the era of the horse and wagon had arrived, and Ono Hana recorded in that year that the wayside "assistants" had greatly decreased in number. They apparently constituted a phenomenon of the Meiji period exclusively.

When rickshas first came into fashion drivers and customers alike were evidently of a distinctly carefree breed. "A rich man who lives in the Motomachi district of Tokyo," said the *Newspaper Journal* in 1871, "likes to ride in rickshas. He hires a cab for the day and travels from morning to night, up hill, down dale, to the shrines or temples or what have you." Similarly, according to the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* for March 8, 1876, Morino Ryūkichi, a rice salesman in No. 3, Kitamatsuchō, Honjo, was so fond of rickshas that despite a lack of funds he induced a ricksha man to drive him around town for more than half a day, with from two to four men pushing behind to increase the speed. There were speed demons, it seems, even then. Another source says:

In those days rickshas were luxurious indeed. For a driver you might even have obtained a well-dressed young man with polished nails, for boys from good families liked to pull the vehicles. Their soiled clothes after one haul were at the height of fashion. Silk-crepe sashes introduced by these ricksha pullers later became the rage among women, who used them for under-sashes.

It was not only in Tokyo that young men pulled rickshas for the fun of it. The following refers to events in the town of Hitoyoshi, Kumamoto Prefecture:

Rickshas first appeared in 1873 or 1874. Two samurais named Mizoe and Tōsawa bought one and took people about in it for a fee. They claimed they needed a little spending money. It was all in good fun, and it served the purpose of bringing the ricksha to this area.

We hasten to add, however, that there were only a few ricksha-pullers of this sort, and they disappeared at a very

early stage. The business was almost immediately taken over by former palanquin-bearers, samurai whom the restoration had deprived of their rank and income, and others with no better means of livelihood. *Yūbin Hōchi* for September 3, 1875, remarked that "the ricksha moves through the town very quickly—yesterday's rider is today's driver." Pulling a ricksha was obviously not considered easy work.

We are told that in the early period pullers employed all sorts of courtesies to attract passengers, but there are conflicting reports, such as the following:

They began to go by devious routes, to thrust themselves upon unwilling pedestrians, and to insult those who refused to ride. Sometimes when they reached passenger's destination they insisted on higher fare than they had originally agreed upon. The customer was often inconvenienced.

So even in the beginning there must have been troublesome pullers alongside the good ones.

The fixed fare in Tokyo was 6.2 *sen* per *ri*, a *ri* being about 2.2 miles, but the city is hilly, and a fixed fare was difficult to maintain. In June, 1873, this rate was abolished in the name of the governor of the city, but on August 28, 1874, ricksha pullers were warned neither to try to persuade pedestrians to ride against their will nor to charge more than the price agreed upon when the customer boarded the cab. In June, 1880, it was proposed that in order to improve the behavior of pullers a special police official should be appointed in each ward to supervise them, and that they should all be made to register with the authorities. It was reported in the newspapers that this suggestion was soon to be acted on, and presumably this was what led to the compilation of the police statistics on rickshas which we have used in our studies. In Osaka a cleanup was held in 1882, and pullers were required to post their rates on the steps of their vehicles. In 1886 ricksha unions were allowed to decide their own rates, but required to report them to the appropriate police authorities and secure approval

from the metropolitan government. It was ruled that pullers must be able-bodied men of at least eighteen years of age and well acquainted with the city. They were to wear hats or wicker umbrella-hats, pants, and dark-blue work coats (white in summer).

It is unlikely that ricksha men who worked in a fixed area and had a steady clientele caused much trouble, but the ones who drifted about looking for travelers unfamiliar with the city would stoop to virtually anything to increase their fare. The two types were natural enemies, and their opposition to each other sometimes grew violent. The police often had to step in, and the pullers in various areas formed unions aimed at ironing out mutual enmitites. The situation was naturally most serious in the vicinity of large railway stations like Shimbashi in Tokyo and Umeda in Osaka, and the men working in these places were almost forced to organize. In 1874 when the Kōbe-Osaka railway was first opened, there were only twenty-odd rickshas working out of Umeda Station, and no union was necessary, but by 1898, of the 580 pullers trying to make a living in this one area, 350 belonged to a union. The members of this organization monopolized a fixed area in the station compound, and a ticket system was in operation. In 1875, 270 pullers regularly took their stand in front of Shimbashi Station, and by an order issued in September, 1874, sixty-five, chosen by lottery, were allowed to enter the station compound to look for customers. Great fights, we are told, arose over alleged favoritism. Around 1892 an office for ricksha men was established at the station, and the ricksha rates permitted by station officials were advertised in the newspapers under the name of the head of this office. Various types of ticket systems were tried, but it is uncertain how effective they were or how long they lasted. Despite development of unions, however, in Tokyo, there remained many unaffiliated rickshamen, and they gradually increased in number as the ricksha became more popular.

According to *Lower Class Society in Japan*, in 1898 there were four types of ricksha men in Tokyo: those hired by private individuals, those employed by ricksha operators, those affiliated with a cooperative union, and independents. The same source gives a discussion the status of these four, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Men employed by well-to-do gentlemen receive a fixed monthly salary. Some eat at their employer's house and are given a place to live in, but others have their own houses and go back and forth every day. Their salary is usually around 10 yen per month, but sometimes as high as 15 or 16 yen. The pay depends on how busy the employer is, but even if the salary is low the puller can usually find opportunities to sneak out and make a little money on the side, and sometimes he is tacitly permitted to do so. In this way a salary of 10 yen can ordinarily be increased to 15 or 16 yen per month.

(2) Men employed by ricksha operators are given a room to live in and a salary or commission.

(3) Many pullers are associated with unions (*ban*), each of which monopolizes some fixed location as its center of operations. Anyone entering the union must contribute one *shō* of sake and 10 *sen* at the beginning and 10 *sen* per month thereafter. The money is put into a welfare fund to aid members who are stricken by illness or other misfortune.

(4) The independents constitute the most numerous and poorest group among the ricksha men. Almost all of them live in the slums. This is not to say that all pullers living in the slums are unaffiliated, but in fact seventy or eighty per cent of them were. Few of them own their own vehicles, most of them being obliged to rent them for a fee known as "tooth money." Some of the men even have to rent their work jackets and breeches. The daily fee is 10 *sen* for a highgrade vehicle, 8 *sen* for a

medium one, and 6 *sen* for the lowest class. This represents an increase of about 2 *sen* in the past two years. The daily income varies, but it averages about 50 *sen*. January, April, May, and December are the best months, and the first, fifteenth, thirtieth, and thirty-first the best days of the month. At such times the daily intake may run as high as seventy or eighty *sen*. On the other hand, there are few customers in February and October, and the estimated average of 50 *sen* per day is probably not far off. If a man has a wife and children, 40 *sen* at the very least go for food. With the other 10 *sen*, the puller must pay his rent, buy clothes, provide his children with a little small change, and so on. Considering that men of this sort, who work irregularly for uncertain wages, are prone to throw money away on food or drink when not employed, one wonders how most of the 50,000 ricksha men manage to stay alive.

Below are statistics gathered by the metropolitan police from

NUMBER OF RICKSHA-MEN IN TOKYO

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number Owning their Own Rikishas</i>	<i>Number Renting Rikisha</i>	<i>Number Employed by Rikisha Owners</i>	<i>Total Number of Persons Renting Rikishas</i>		<i>Number of Persons Employing Pullers</i>
1889	11,569	21,360	3,091	36,020	5,174	754
1891	11,002	34,877	2,782	48,661	5,863	750
1893	10,259	31,998	2,509	44,766	5,982	661
1895	10,785	32,931	2,242	45,958	6,094	659
1897	11,265	29,731	2,180	43,183	6,509	544
1899	10,140	33,054	2,420	45,614	6,319	569
1901	10,293	32,591	2,919	45,803	6,689	543
1903	8,352	31,738	2,575	42,665	5,808	531
1905	6,371	18,578	1,550	26,499	4,758	553
1907	5,948	19,132	1,448	26,529	4,690	407
1909	5,483	18,454	1,215	25,152	4,322	314
1911	4,593	16,745	1,055	22,393	4,001	230

1889 to the end of Meiji:

Figures for non-commercial vehicles are not given in the above, so that we cannot tell how many ricksha men were employed by private individuals at this time. The men listed here as owners of their own vehicles were probably for the large part members of unions (*ban*), and while a number of union members may have been included among those renting their rickshas, the majority of these latter were undoubtedly unaffiliated. The persons included in Column 3 were in the employ of those listed in Column 6, and those in Column 5 owned the rickshas used by those in Column 2.

Dividing the figures in Column 2 by those in Column 5 indicates that an average of three or four pullers borrowed vehicles from each owner. Accordingly, since the fee for the best vehicles was 10 *sen* per day and that for the average ones was 8 *sen*, it appears that the average daily income of owners could hardly have exceeded 50 *sen*. There may then have been a small number of operators with a large number of vehicles, but the great majority of the owners must have derived very little profit indeed from this enterprise, and it was probably a secondary occupation for most of them. A comparison of Column 6 with Column 3 shows that each employer had an average of only four pullers working for him.

A number of other inferences can be made from this table. In the first place, it can be seen that while the number or persons employing ricksha men decreased steadily after 1890, the number of persons renting rickshas increased almost uniformly until 1903, when the newly established streetcar lines began cutting into this trade. The figures for ricksha men *vis à vis* renters or employers no doubt reflect a number of complicated social conditions, but suffice it to say here that the decrease in employers coupled with the relatively stable proportion of renters indicates an increased proportion of unaffiliated ricksha men. At the same time, we might note that until the total number of ricksha men began to decrease in 1901, the

number of those owning their own vehicles varied very little.

The same four classes of ricksha men existed in Osaka. In the amusement quarters and certain other busy districts during the heyday of the ricksha, it is said that one or two ricksha companies operated in each block. The men employed by them received their pay by the month, and apparently it was very small. The employer took ten per cent of the intake plus money for the puller's food, for repairs, and so on. In the geisha districts, the owner's cut is said to have been fixed at one half of what was left after his original fee of ten per cent had been deducted, which meant that the puller received only forty-five per cent of the fare. However, in such districts the tips were large, and drivers depended more on them than on their regular fee. Employers maintained monopolies on the districts in which they worked, and it was considered normal for the ricksha owner to be the leading gambling operator in the neighborhood. Ricksha men not employed by operators formed unions like those of Tokyo and monopolized the districts around train stations, wharfs, and so on.

In 1892 the *Kokumin Shimbun* (*People's Newspaper*) ran a very-well received series entitled "Tokyo at Night," in which living conditions among ricksha men were discussed in detail. The following is a summary of the contents:

Ricksha men who stay up night working are called *yonashi* (the men who have no night). There are about four thousand in all. Some work from early evening until about one in the morning, and others from around nine until daylight. Most of them gather at the main intersections, or in areas where rich people live, or in the geisha districts, but some can be found hanging around in lonely byways hoping for a customer. They work in two distinct ways. The selfstyled "experts" pin all their hopes on getting one rich customer and will have nothing to do with people who look as though they have little money. The "amateurs" wander about all night looking for any customer

at all. They soon tire themselves out and go home early.

In busy business districts, as well as near government buildings and geisha areas, one invariably finds a hackstand with *yado-guruma* (rickshas owned by an entrepreneur and pulled by his employees). The stand usually has a curtain of ropes in front, and its street number is written on a lantern. Standing around in waiting are five or six young pullers clad in white breeches and dark blue work coats. These men not only receive a high salary and tips, but are given their noon meal and tea as well. They can eat all they want for three yen per month, and their employer furnishes their clothing. When the men are at home, that is, in the employer's house, they sit by the fire and play cards or laugh and talk in their country dialects, the while puffing away on cigars. The employer usually receives thirty per cent of the fares, or around thirty or thirty-five yen per month, and a sum of from forty to fifty is divided up among the six or seven pullers.

In recent years there have been more and more unaffiliated rickshas on the streets, and all but the most particular customers have stopped riding the relatively expensive *yado-guruma*. The drivers of the latter have therefore started going out on the streets to look for customers. When they do so, they pay their employers four *sen* per day for the use of their vehicles, and this is too little to permit the employer to buy new vehicles or even to keep his old ones in good condition. The rickshas deteriorate, and the pullers cease to be able to pay for their rent or keep. Many of them quit after three or four months.

There are around 10,000 ricksha men in this category. Some are pitiful old men of fifty or more who live with their wives in the slums. One occasionally sees a man of sixty-five or seventy wandering vaguely around the streets with an old broken-down ricksha.

In the city of Tokyo there are at present 60,000 rickshas,

of which 40,000 are in operation at any given time. Even if one figures the living expenses of a ricksha man at as little as 25 *sen* per day, the total daily wage must be ¥ 10,000 yen. On the other hand, the 300,000 households, or 1,500,000 people, in the city consume 4,500 *koku* of rice per day at a cost of 30,000 yen. In other words, one third of the amount spent for the principal food in the city has to be paid to make a living for ricksha pullers. Many people have taken to riding the new horse drawn rail buses, but the amount of money spent daily on these comes to no more than 500 yen. This represents such a reduction in cost that the ricksha men are not going to be able to compete long. It is very doubtful that the people of the city will continue to pay the ¥ 10,000 daily required for the ricksha pullers.

In addition to arguments like this, there were other doubts concerning ricksha men. In 1888, for instance, a newspaper criticized the practice of using men as beasts of burden and questioned the economic benefits as well. The paper conceded that indirect profits might arise from the use of the ricksha, but pointed out that the ricksha business was a hotbed of good-for-nothings, and that this was true simply because the ricksha man led a demoralizing life. Going out in all weather, hot or cold, wet or dry, running himself into a sweat, stopping for a while, starting up again—it was little wonder, said the newspaper, that the puller often drank too much and threw away his money as fast as he made it. Many of the drivers, the article went on, injured their health by spending the nights gambling in the amusement centers and at the same time subjected their wives and families to severe penury. Then, the paper added, faced with the necessity of working, bad health or no, the men tried to coerce people to ride their vehicles or to do their passengers out of money.

Neither these arguments nor the appearance of horse-drawn buses did much to reduce the number of rickshas, but the

opening of a tramway service in 1903 was another story entirely. In the beginning there were three streetcar companies in the city and as a result of their competition tracks were laid very rapidly. The effect on the ricksha men was disastrous. The following appeared in the *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper* in 1904.

Since the opening of streetcar lines on some streets, ricksha men who formerly worked there have found themselves completely without customers. More and more of them have moved to Koishikawa, Ushigome, and Akasaka, but since there were already a good number of rickshas in these areas, there is now a great surplus. Sometimes a driver stands around all day and takes in only from five to thirty *sen*, which is not nearly enough for himself and his wife to live on. Many of the men would like to change to other work but lack the necessary funds. They are wondering what is to become of them.

To make matters worse, in the same year streetcar lines were extended to the areas mentioned in this article, and the rail line between Iidamachi, and Nakano, which was the first section of the modern electric railway system, was electrified. However, the areas along this railway and those along the Yamate Line, which were at that time on the outskirts of Tokyo, were beginning to grow as rapidly as the central districts, and the ricksha men were able to hang on a little longer by moving farther and farther out.

For a time before the coming of the railway, rickshas ran in relays along the principal national highways, just as palanquins had done in the Tokugawa period. The gradual extension of rail service put a stop to this, but at the same time ricksha men in outlying towns found new work transporting people to and from the railway stations. This was true, for example, in Fuchū, a rather distant suburb of Tokyo and formerly a stop on the highway to Kōfu. Until a railway station was built at nearby Kokubunji, we are told, there were no rickshas in Fuchū, but thereafter rickshas began to be very busy conveying people back

and forth from the railway. Thus the railroads drove rickshas out of some districts, but created new work for them elsewhere.

Whereas the ricksha men of Tokyo as a rule had no other work, those in the provinces were often farmers who merely pulled a ricksha occasionally to make a little extra money. Accordingly, rural ricksha men usually led a more stable life than city pullers, other than those in the permanent employ of well-to-do families.

a. The Era of Horsedrawn Vehicles

(1) The Spread of Horsedrawn Passenger Vehicles.

Horsedrawn vehicles were apparently not used at all in Japan prior to the Meiji period, and it is certain that horsedrawn passenger vehicles at least were introduced from Europe. Accordingly, they were not necessarily designed to suit conditions that existed in Japan.

In 1873 a foreigner named Marinda (transcribed spelling), who lived in Nagata-machi in Tokyo, ran a newspaper advertisement offering a buggy for sale. It was apparently a private vehicle, seating two or three passengers and rigged for two horses. According to the advertisement, the foreign gentleman had purchased it from England in the previous year for 650 yen and now wished to sell it for 450 yen. It seems that quite a few carriages were imported and passed on to Japanese owners in this way. Carriages, however, were expensive vehicles, and they were used only by the royal family, the peerage, foreign envoys, high officials, rich merchants, and the like, who could afford to keep a horse or two and to employ a groom and drivers. According to police statistics for the latter half of the Meiji period there were 276 private carriages in Tokyo in 1902, 181 in 1907, and 177 in 1911. It is not certain at what point they were most numerous, but there were probably never very many. After 1902, when officials in the American Russian embassies began to use automobiles, the days of the horse-and-

carriage were numbered.

Stagecoaches underwent a very different evolution. Whereas in the case of rickshas and automobiles, high-class models originally purchased by rich people were later sold to entrepreneurs who let them out on hire, this could hardly have occurred in the case of stagecoaches, and the latter must have originated in a different fashion. As a matter of fact, there are several theories as to their origin, and it is difficult to choose among them, but in any event stagecoach service seems to have begun between Tokyo and Yokohama area in 1869. In 1874 stagecoaches were used within Tokyo itself. In an article entitled "Stagecoaches in Tokyo," the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper* gave the following account:

Around 1872 a great horseman named Yura, who was employed by the Imperial Household Ministry, resigned from his position and set up an omnibus service linking Shimbashi, Manseibashi, and Asakusa. This was apparently the beginning of stagecoaches in Tokyo. At the time two-story coaches drawn by four horses were used, and they created a number of dangers. Eventually a lighter model came into general use, and after around 1907 the business flourished.

The "horseman named Yura" was Yura Kiyomaro, who, under the name of Senriken, became famous as an omnibus operator. In August 6, 1874, Yura issued the following newspaper advertisement:

On this occasion, my company wishes to announce that it will henceforward transport passengers on a two-story horse-drawn omnibus, of the type used in other countries. The bus will carry thirty passengers and will run between Kaminari Gate in Asakusa and Shimbashi Station. The distance will be covered in one hour, and there will be six round trips each day, beginning at six in the morning and ending at eight in the evening. On the way, passengers will be permitted to get on or off at their convenience. I

hope that everyone will avail himself of this service.

Senriken

Fare for one person: 10 *sen*.

For these who travel less than halfway: 3 *sen*.

In September, of the same year, however, Senriken's horses ran wild at Kaminari Gate, in juring two drivers and one passerby seriously and two more drives lightly. In an age when the only other land conveyance carrying 30 passengers at once was the Tokyo-Yokohama railway train, Senriken's experiment was little less than epochmaking, but he was undoubtedly rash to try to run a four-horse two-story bus on the narrow, crowded streets of Tokyo. The *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* for November 10, 1874, printed the following letter:

Streets in foreign countries are wide, and number of horses and carriages can traverse them, but the streets in Japan are still not wide enough for large horse-drawn vehicles. Senriken's bus has already killed two persons, and I hear that it injured another just recently. This is very serious. The drivers brag and say it does not matter if a few people get trampled to death. This sort of conduct is ugly indeed. People around here say that no matter how much damage is done the bus will not be banned because it is owned by a very rich man. I am sure nothing so corrupt is the case, but I would like to see the bus stopped for the sake of the people.

An old man living in a side street. And in fact, Senriken was ordered to desist.

According to *The Origin of Meiji Customs and Practices* (*Meiji Jibutsu Kigen*), in 1870 artisans in Tokyo and Yokohama cooperated to produce "the first horsedrawn vehicle," and this indeed appears to have been the first model designed to meet specially Japanese needs. After around 1877 light coaches drawn by one or two horses came gradually into common use. In Tokyo during the Meiji twenties (1887-1896), they numbered around 180. At the same time heavy competition between

operators seems to have led to new evils. On May 27, 1888, the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper* carried the following report:

In recent times many of the horsedrawn buses (popularly known as "Entarō" or simply "rattletraps") in the city of Tokyo have gotten into very bad shape, and the drivers, whose clothes are frequently dirty and ragged, have been known to be very impolite to passengers. We hear that for this reason the police summoned the bus operators of the city the day before yesterday and gave them the following instructions:

1. Coaches are to be kept clean inside and out.
2. Coaches are not to be kept in use after the lacquer or varnish has come off.
3. Cushions for the passengers, as well as livery equipment, are to be kept clean and sanitary.
4. Horses must be well cared for. They must not be treated cruelly or made to work too much.
5. At least simple stables must be built for the horses. These should have wooden floors, and precautions should be taken lest they become fouled with excrement or rendered otherwise unsanitary.
6. Vehicles that are not clean should not be used, even if their condition does not violate Section 2, Article 9 of the Law on Control of Horse-drawn Vehicles.
7. Deodorants are to be sprinkled about at the car-stops and every attempt made to guard against evil smells.
8. Drivers and grooms must be dressed in Clean, neat clothing.
9. Politeness to customers must be the first rule, and employees are to be specially careful about old people, children, and ladies.

To judge from this, there must have been a good many broken-down or unsanitary coaches on the streets. The best vehicles were presumably in use on the busy route between Shimbashi and Asakusa, but on March 18, 1882, the *Tokyo*

Nichi-nichi Newspaper had the following to say of these:

The coaches have been stopping three or four times en route to wait for customers, and the drivers refusing to move until the vehicle was full. Sometimes it has taken passengers more than an hour to go from Shimbashi to Asakusa, and many people with urgent business have been seriously inconvenienced. Now, however, a rule has been issued to correct this evil, and buses will be required to arrive and depart on time, passengers or no. . . We wish that in the course of this reform the authorities would do something about cruelty to the horses. One's heart is pained by the sight of young apprentices, dressed in illice-ridden coats, chasing along behind the thin weary animals and beating them with great, fat sticks. At the same time one is angered by this disgrace to human dignity. If the authorities in charge do not pay more attention to this sort of thing, the coach business will decline. But then perhaps the establishment of railway companies will put an end to these bad practices.

Apparently, some pretty terrible coaches were to be seen right in the middle of the capital.

It July 1, 1888, the Metropolitan Government of Tokyo forbade omnibus operators to employ drivers less than twenty years of age, and as a result the number of coaches fell from 105 or 106 to only 50 or 60, while more than two hundred underage drivers were thrown out of work.

The bus companies may have often committed the offenses indicated in the above paragraph, but for this very reason the coaches looked so plain and unpretentious that the most ordinary people could ride them without feeling out of place. *The History of Hongō Ward*, speaking of 1877, says: "The coaches linking Asakusa, Shimbashi and Shinagawa ran from eight in the morning until six in the evening every day. Up and down the main streets they chased, preceded by the sound of bugles (blown to attract customers) and followed by clouds of yellow

dust. The people affectionately nicknamed them 'Entarō buses' (this name implying that they were like round, bumptious little boys)." The same source in speaking of the state of coaches in 1890 reported as follows:

At that time there was, of course, no fixed fare, but thanks to the grooms's haggling, there was a monthly profit of about 8 *yen* for a one-horse or 12 *yen* for a two-horse vehicle. Gradually competition increased to the extent that the operators formed guilds and decided upon fixed rules. . . This continued to be the case even after rail buses came into use. Then the government published regulations for the commercial operation of horse-drawn vehicles, which went into effect on March 1, 1890. The coaches then in existence (that is to say, the ones called "Entarō buses" and "beggars' buses") were without exception condemned, and all the drivers and grooms were fined. At that point, however, the Shinagawa Omnibus Company, the Kyōdō Omnibus Company, and other new firms repaired the old vehicles and chose new drivers and grooms to operate them. This brought about a great improvement in Tokyo as well as in other place.

We have made inquiries concerning expenses and income in this business. Apparently, one new coach costs 280 *yen*, while the six horses necessary to pull it cost 240 *yen*, bringing the total to 520 *yen*. The feed for each horse costs 1.80 *yen* per day, and the monthly pay to the driver and groom is 28 *yen* (10 *yen* for the driver, 8 *yen* for the groom, and 10 *yen* for their combined commission on the fares taken in). In sum, the monthly expenditures come to 82 *yen*. On the other hand, a coach making six round trips a day takes in around 4.50 *yen* per day on the route between Shimbashi and Shinagawa and 5.50 *yen* per day on the route between Shimbashi and Asakusa, so that the monthly income is 135 *yen*, representing a profit of 53 *yen* on the former line, and 165 *yen* representing a profit

of 83 yen on the latter. This is a very good profit on an investment of 520 yen.

Evidently the old dirty coaches were scrapped and the omnibus business renovated by new companies working on a larger scale than before.

b. The Rail Coach and the Ordinary Coach

In 1882 after railless coaches had been prospering in Tokyo for some years, a rail-coach line was opened. After investigating the traffic in horse-drawn vehicles and rickshas at Manseibashi, Asakusa-basi, and Shimbashi, the sponsors of this new enterprise decided to fix their terminals at those three points. In places where the streets were wide enough double tracks were laid, and waiting stations were erected at various points along the line. The coaches themselves were as good as the railway cars of the time, and the new business was successful from the beginning. At the end of 1882, the total length of the rails was around twenty miles, and there were 31 coaches in operation, pulled by a total of 226 horses. Customers numbered 1,107,000 for that year.

The *Tokyo Bus Railroad Corporation*, which built the rail-coach system, continued to operate it until 1900, when, with governmental permission, it widened its tracks and began switching from horses to electricity. In October of that year the name of the company was changed to *Tokyo Electric Railway Corporation*, and its capital of ¥1,700,000 was increased to ¥5,000,000.

The horse-drawn rail-buses introduced a number of improvements over the older railless coaches. At night colored oil lamps were adopted to show the destination: red for Ueno, green for Asakusa, and white for Shimbashi. Tickets were priced according to the number of wards passed en route, and various services for the customer were devised. The streets of Tokyo must have changed much from the day of the rambunctious

railless bus with its clouds of dust.

The rail-buses pushed their older competition off the main streets, but did not render them obsolete, since the rails for the new buses could not be laid on the narrower streets. The following statistics show the number of the various types of coaches between 1889 and 1902:

OLD-STYLE COACHES

COACHES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Vehicles</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Vehicles</i>	<i>Horses</i>
1889	79	202	743	1	92	591
1891	20	110	676	1	71	427
1893	34	132	639	2	77	463
1895	27	95	634	2	112	634
1897	23	52	183	2	200	1,128
1899	15	48	202	2	273	1,536
1901	11	61	301	1	308	2,029
1902	14	80	425	1	305	1,590

This indicates that the number of rail coaches increased rapidly until the installation of tram lines in the city, whereas the number of regular coaches decreased except for a spurt around 1902, probably caused by road improvements. Another feature shown by the chart is that the regular bus business was in the hands of a large number of small operators, while the rail coaches represented a single large enterprise or two. In Osaka, where the streets were small, the number of horse-drawn passenger vehicles was only twelve in 1882, four in 1887, thirteen in 1892, two in 1898, four in 1902, and two in 1907. It appears unlikely that horse-drawn rail coaches were employed in many places other than Tokyo. The totals for the whole country were as follows:

The most thriving period was the first half of the Meiji thirties (1898-1903). In the latter part of the decade the tramway caused a great decrease in the number of passengers in Tokyo and as trams spread over the country, the rail-bus came to be used

Year	Companies	Length of Rails	Vehicles	Horses	Passengers
1882	1	8.42 miles	31	226	1,107,000
1888	3	20.74 "	157	537	7,794,000
1893	8	63.52 "	250	699	9,283,000
1898	8	61.26 "	413	1,620	34,394,000
1903	23	153.25 "	511	689	5,680,000
1908	32	294.31 "	875	820	9,157,000
1912	40	299.67 "	×561 ※676	1,110	9,015,000

× Passenger Buses ※ Cargo Wagons

primarily for transporting cargo. Cargo wagons were more numerous than passenger coaches in 1912. In the last years of Meiji there were approximately three hundred miles of tracks throughout the nation, but that in location is uncertain. Apparently, they were situated in and around a few of the principal cities and at mines, where rail cars were used for transporting ore and coal over short distances. There seem to have been no long-distance lines. In 1887 a plan to lay bus rails from Fukushima Prefecture to Niigata was discussed, but abandoned in favor of one providing for a steam railway. Also, it is recorded that farmers stormed the prefectural government building in Gumma Prefecture in protest against government purchases of land for a railbus line. In brief, the age of electricity and steam came before there was time for rail-bus lines to expand. At one point, we might add, there were rail lines for rickshas between Odawara and Atami and between Fujieda and Yaizu, but disappeared quickly.

In contrast, the railless horse-drawn coaches spread to many areas, and in the early Meiji, before trains were common, these vehicles sometimes traveled considerable distances. Apparently, most of them were six-passenger affairs (*Report on Life in the Meiji Period*), but since it is recorded that ten persons could be seated in the buses that ran between Hachioji and Shinjuku, in Tokyo, one supposes that 14 or 15 passengers could have

crowded into them. Since these vehicles made ten round trips each day, there were never many rickshas on this route.

The number of horse-drawn vehicles throughout the country was as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
1875	319
1878	1,025
1883	2,184
1888	2,161
1893	2,630
1898	4,653
1903	6,631
1908	7,606
1912	8,733
1917	8,694

It is not certain how many luxurious private coaches are included in this number, but we may be sure that a good many of the vehicles were omnibuses that ran along the coastlines and the river valleys. The chart indicates that the number did not begin to fall off until after the Meiji period.

c. Horse-drawn Cargo Wagons

The beginnings of the horse-and-wagon, which served as the principal means of short-distance drayage until with the appearance of trucks, are clouded in obscurity, but one suspects that the idea of using horses instead of oxen was introduced from the West. The number of horse-drawn and ox-drawn cargo wagons in use during Meiji is indicated in the chart shown on p. 206.

There were far more oxcarts than horses-and-wagons in the very early Meiji, but this situation was quickly reversed. Curiously, though the number of horse-drawn wagons in the city of Tokyo increased slightly around 1898, after 1900 it suddenly

<i>Year</i>	<i>Horse-drawn Vehicles</i>	<i>Ox-drawn vehicles</i>
1875	45	1,707
1878	104	1,912
1883	4,969	4,107
1888	19,040	8,060
1893	40,788	14,127
1898	77,897	40,268
1903	91,860	28,084
1908	138,505	32,699
1912	177,793	35,558
1917	208,880	35,362

declined. The reason is not perfectly clear, but as the following table shows, during the same period the number of vehicles in Greater Tokyo, which included the surrounding suburbs and rural districts, rose considerably, and it is possible that there were actually more vehicles on the city streets, despite a decrease in those licensed in the city proper.

NUMBER OF CARGO VEHICLES IN TOKYO

<i>Year</i>	<i>Tokyo</i>	<i>Greater Tokyo</i>	<i>Tokyo</i>	<i>Greater Tokyo</i>
	(Horse-drawn Vehicles)		(Oxcarts)	
1902	250	3,739	8	31
1907	173	5,180	3	24
1911	144	6,008	5	15
1916	220	5,671	8	6

At the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, the situation was described as follows:

Since cargo traffic is congested everywhere, between Yokohama and Tokyo urgent deliveries are being shipped by horsecarts. For this reason the demand for horsecarts has increased greatly in the past few days. More than two hundred are in use each day on this one route alone, and since the same situation exists within Tokyo as well,

the seven hundred or more horsecarts in the city are running virtually all day and all night. . . . The principal cargo, aside from military supplies, consists of various canned goods, firewood, lumber, charcoal, and grain. (From the *Tokyo Asahi*, February 26, 1904)

The spread of horsecarts to the provinces accompanied the improvement of local highways. In the vicinity of Omama, Gumma Prefecture, a large number of horsecarts were being used around 1889 to transport copper mine at Ashio, and in 1890 horsecarts were first used to transport fish along the highway running from the coast of Iwaki County, Fukushima Prefecture, to Miharu. We are told that when with their cheerful bells tinkling they entered the district of Takine, which lay along the highway, everyone's curiosity was excited, and people who had been working in the fields gathered around to look. The appearance of the vehicles in the areas mentioned was relatively early.

The highway between the township of Mizusawa, Iwate Prefecture, and Ōfuna was completed in 1899, and when somewhat later a bridge was constructed over the Kitakami River, traffic between Mizusawa and Iwayadō, particularly horsecart traffic, is said to have increased by leaps and bounds. The principal outgoing cargo, we are told, consisted of rice, other grains, firewood, and charcoal, while the incoming cargo consisted monthly of fertilizer, salt, and miscellaneous supplies.

A railway which was opened in the Hitoyoshi district of Kumamoto Prefecture led to a sudden increase in horsecarts in operation along the way. They appear to have carried rice and lumber mainly. (*Report on Life in the Meiji Period*) As soon as highways and railways were built in any district, there followed an increase in horsecarts, which served to link remoter localities with the main arteries of traffic.

Whereas ordinary handcarts were for the larger part used by their owners for their own private needs, the majority of horsecarts seem to have been owned by professional carriers. There

were some large operators, but most owners had only a single animal and vehicle. The one-cart men were to be found in odd corners of the cities as well as in the towns along the main highways. Many of them engaged in farming or some other business as well as in transport.

At highway intersections and at certain centers in the city there were places where wagon drivers could water their horses and rest for a while. In the Meiji thirties, for example, there was always a little cluster of drivers at Hitotsubashi, in the Kanda district of Tokyo, where a number of shops provided watering facilities and sold food and drink to the men. The coming of the streetcar virtually put a stop to this, since it entailed traffic regulations designed to prevent parking along the streets and crossing traffic. Drivers, forced to remain on the move, took to carrying their lunches with them. The shops were often forced to change trades or to go out of business altogether.

In the days before the coming of the railway and the automobile, horses and wagons did much to promote the growth of provincial towns and cities. In effect, a place that smelled of horses was a busy place. Since horses were also widely used by the military, the Meiji period was more than any other the age of the horse.

6. BICYCLES AND AUTOMOBILES

a. The Spread of Bicycles

The first Japanese bicycles are said to have been imitated from Western pictures. Accordingly, they were crude, and in the early Meiji period they were used solely as playthings in urban parks and amusement centers. At the same time, however, a number of Japanese made original designs for wooden bicycles or tricycles, and in 1876 a man named Suzuki Sangen, who lived in the village of Yachi, Date County, Fukushima

Prefecture, made a vehicle that worked well enough for him to ride it to Tokyo the following year. Later he designed a four-passenger model which according to the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper* for January 21, 1881, he attempted to exhibit it at the National Industrial Exhibition. In Osaka around this time vehicles called *jitensha*, now the ordinary word for a bicycle or tricycle, were prohibited as dangerous to pedestrians, and one supposes from this that a few wheels of the sort Suzuki was making had been running wild through the city streets there.

The first Western cycle to arrive was a three-wheeler imported in 1881 or 1882. Like the Japanese imitations thitherto produced, this one is said to have been fairly useless, but soon foreigners living in Japan began to import bicycles and to demonstrate their immense practical value. On October 14, 1881, the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi*, with considerable astonishment, reported as follows:

Recently, we have seen Westerners riding about on two-passenger bicycles. They sit on the vehicle as in a ricksha, and turn a machine with their feet to propel it. One does not see such things often.

This indicates that the Japanese cycles produced hitherto did not have saddles or pedals.

The *Report on Life in the Meiji Period* contains a number of statements indicating that quite a few foreigners were riding about the countryside on bicycles. The following are examples:

- (1) The author reports that he saw an American woman riding a bicycle in 1896, and that this was the first bicycle he had ever seen.
- (2) In around 1887, an American named Clark, who was residing in the city of Miyazaki showed up in the town of Honjō, Miyazaki Prefecture, on a bicycles. This was the first time the vehicle had been seen in the locality.
- (3) In 1887 a teacher named Benton, who worked in the Kanagawa Trade School (later the Fourth National High School) in Kanagawa, was often to be seen riding

a bicycle.

- (4) Around 1890, a foreign Christian rode a bicycle on the streets of the city of Ichinomiya, Aichi Prefecture, and everyone ran out to look.
- (5) In the city of Saga the first person to use a bicycle with rubber tires was a missionary. This was in 1894.

One supposes from these cases that Western teachers and missionaries, a good number of whom were residing in various parts in Japan, were gradually introducing the bicycle. Indeed by 1892 in the town of Yachi, Yamagata Prefecture, there was a bicycle shop in which sold American bicycles, and which organized bicycle races by way of promoting sales. It is not certain how effective the propaganda was, but we may be sure that foreign bicycles were being sold over a wide area. On the other hand, there was no attempt to build a new type of transport business around the vehicle, and although bicycle shops sprang up here and there, there was no sudden increase in the number of vehicles as had been the case with the ricksha and the horse and carriage. Still more and more people bought bicycles for their private use, and it is clear that even if few foreigners were actively trying to advertise for bicycle companies, the foreign population as a whole were unwittingly contributing to the propaganda campaign.

The first Japanese-made bicycle appears to have been produced at the Miyata Manufacturing Works in 1893. In the following year Miyata Eisuke of the Ryōjū Bicycle Factory in Kikugawa-chō, Honjo Ward, Tokyo, published the following advertisement in commemoration of the first anniversary of the establishment of his factory.

Although my bicycle factory has been in business only a short time, its products have gained widespread acclaim, for which I hereby express my sincere gratitude. This month marks the first anniversary of this enterprise, and by way of thanks to the general public, I am placing 50 vehicles on sale at a greatly reduced price, and I will supply

full accessories dependent on the price class of the vehicle purchased. Do not fail to take advantage of this offer. Order immediately. Orders will not be accepted after August 15. (*Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper*, July 28, 1894)

Advertisements for Miyata's bicycles begin to appear in quantity around 1905, and the company opened a branch factory in Osaka around the same time.

Bicycles or more properly *jitensha* began to catch on everywhere. They were first used to deliver mail in 1891 by the Kobiki-chō Post Office in Tokyo. In the following year they were introduced in Iriko-machi, Kagoshima Prefecture, where they were soon adopted by doctors and tradespeople. Around 1895, it is reported, the clothiers, rice merchants, medicine salesmen, and other influential traders in Namerigawa-machi, Toyama Prefecture, were riding them, and it is to be supposed that the same was true in many other outlying provinces. On the other hand, it is likely that many of the *jitensha* mentioned in contemporary accounts were a far cry from the modern bicycle. A *jitensha* introduced to Muya-machi, Tokushima Prefecture, in 1892, for example, was described as having one large wheel in front and two small ones in the rear, and Mr. Sano Keiji of Kamikita-mura, Koshi County, Niigata Prefecture, stated upon inquiry that a *jitensha* his father bought for him around 1887 was a three-wheeled wooden vehicle.

According to the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period*, many residents of rural districts stated that bicycles first entered their town or village in the Meiji thirties (1887-97) and were used by merchants, local officials, doctors, teachers, policemen, and postmen. In 1902 and 1903, when the naval port at Maizuru was constructed, laborers commuting to East and central Maizuru are recorded to have made heavy use of the vehicle, but this was an area in which it was especially quick to spread. Other accounts of this period contain such statements as that "around that time doctors and restaurant or hotel proprietors began to startle everyone by riding around on bicycles," or that

"a rich merchant was riding on an English bicycle," or that "the landlord rode a foreign wheel," or that "propertied families bought them because they were cheaper and more convenient than rickshas," or that "they were only used for pleasure riding," or that "the master of an old and influential house rode one out of whimsy," and so on. Consequently, it appears that though bicycles were probably in use over a wide area, they were still not very numerous, and they were mostly imports from America or England. Presumably a bicycle race held around this time in the vicinity of Ihano-mura, Hikawa-gun, Shimane Prefecture, was a form of propaganda for foreign-made bicycles.

In 1902 and 1903 bicycles with one large and one small iron wheel first appeared in Kakegawa-machi, Shizuoka Prefecture, and one supposes that ordinary bicycles were in fairly wide use in the area. In Tokyo in 1900 and 1901 all bicycles had plain metal wheels, but shortly thereafter rubber-rimmed wheels were introduced, and on the eve of the Russo-Japanese war fat rubber tires with inner tubes appeared. The Lady Bicycle-Lovers' Society was formed on November 25, 1900, and around the same time plans were laid for the founding of the Ladies' Bicycle Club. In the following year the former organization merged with the women's division of the Japan Athletic Society (*Nihon Taiiku-kai*). It is clear from all this that bicycles were appreciated by a number of people for their recreational value, but during this period virtually none of the shopkeepers along the streets of Tokyo owned them, and their use in business was in effect confined to a small class of prosperous merchants, notably clothiers, in the central section of the metropolis. There were bicycles in Kōbe and Amagasaki around 1904 or 1905, but about the only people who used them in their work were missionaries and officials. A butcher in Tomoto-chō in Kōbe, we are told, went out soliciting orders by bicycle, but he was an exception to the general rule. According to Hirata Hisashi's *Ten Years as a Newspaper Reporter* (1902), Hirata first rode

a bicycle in August, 1901, and was so impressed with the possibilities of the machine that he published an article entitled "The Effectiveness of the Bicycle" in a Tokyo newspaper. This indicates how rare bicycles were even in the capital.

In the article Hirata commented, "It is impossible to ride a bicycle in ordinary Japanese dress. Riders must make their sleeves narrow and tuck up the skirts of their kimonos or wear something on the order of knee-length pants. As the popularity of the vehicle increases, the clothing worn by young people will probably change to the extent that it differs in no way from European clothing." This is especially interesting as a portent of the effect of new transportation facilities on clothing. Certainly the bicycle, along with the streetcar, caused, if not the complete Westernization of every day clothing, at least a radical simplification of it.

The number of bicycles in Tokyo, Osaka, and the country as a whole toward the end of Meiji was as follows:

Year	Tokyo		Osaka	Whole Country
	City	Proper Suburbs		
1900	—	—	543	—
1902	5,428	801	466	—
1907	6,743	2,523	4,756	—
1911	15,210	10,024	—	—
1912	—	—	11,547	388,523
1916	98,336	40,781	24,802	857,099
Motorcycles	207	80	—	809

As shown here, after 1907 the number of bicycles both in the cities and in the provinces increased at a great rate. According to the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period*, in this period middle school students in the farm villages around Osaka, as well as in Awajishima and the township of Honjō in Miyazaki Prefecture, were riding bicycles to and from school, and the use of the

vehicle had become widespread among merchants and working people. Many shopkeepers in Tokyo were sending their hired help out on bicycles to take orders, and one newspaper recounts that each day at noon a large group of delivery boys, clad in work jackets bearing the mark of their employer, forgathered at Moto'ogahara in the Aoyama section of Tokyo for bicycle races. Boys from sake shops were the most numerous, we are told, and the ground under the trees was littered with sake bottles, kegs, and the other implements of their trade. (*Niroku Newspaper*, August 20, 1909).

A number of ladies in Tokyo, as noted above rode bicycles for pleasure, but very few working women used the vehicle. In the *Niroku Newspaper* for July 25, 1909, the following appeared under the title "A Woman's Account of the Experience of Riding a Bicycle.":

At the time bicycles were the height of fashion, and everybody and his brother were riding them. Even great ladies were striking quite a pose as they cycled about the streets. . . . It was three *ri* (approximately 7.2 miles) from my house to school, and a woman simply could not walk the distance in less than three hours. School began at seven in the morning. . . . but even so I managed somehow to commute on foot for two years, though it was quite a hardship. I hated it, and when they bought a bicycle for me I decided to ride to and from school. On a bicycle the 3 *ri* took only about 40 minutes. It was somewhat embarrassing, but I decided that it would not do any great harm to put up with a little embarrassment, and I began riding. It was really hard to bear the taunts and sneers that people hurled at me as I went back and forth. . . . I tried to be as inconspicuous as possible, but when word spread that a woman was passing by on a bicycle, I get a different kind of insult from each village I went through. In the mornings it was fairly easy since no one was awake anywhere. To be sure, sometimes when I passed through

the vegetable market in Senju I was so afraid the bystanders were going to hit me on the head that I got a policeman to lead me through, and that was a little difficult.... In the evenings I started back at 6 and arrived home around 7, and this was when I really got the gibes. "Hey, pipe the high-class bitch on the bicycle!" the more vulgar men would scream. "Yell at her! Hey, you! We know you, all right! We'll take care of you later!".... People threw rocks and water at me from their houses, and everyone would say nasty things and laugh.

Despite this poor lady's difficulties, the bicycle continued to become more popular. The Miyata factory, which enjoyed a boom after the Russo-Japanese war, issued frequent advertisements in the newspapers, and the Japanese-American Company, special agents for an American bicycle firm carried on a tremendous sales campaign. Nevertheless, the bicycle was not really taken up by the great masses of Japanese in the rural areas until the end of the Taishō or the beginning of the Shōwa period.

b. Automobiles

Automobiles did not appear in Japan until much later than bicycles, and they were not a really important means of transportation until long after the Meiji period. The first automobile to be imported is said to have been an electric model presented by the Japanese residents of San Francisco to the crown prince in 1900 on the occasion of his marriage, but this vehicle was never once used. Somewhat later, in 1902, the secretaries of the Russian and American Embassies and one other American imported one automobile each. In 1904 Mitsui Takayasu purchased a car, and he was followed by Prince Arisugawa, who brought one back on his return from a trip to the United States. Subsequently, Count Ōkuma, Baron Shibusawa, and Ōkura Kishichirō joined the pioneers, and by 1907 there were

41 private cars in the city of Tokyo, which, together with 23 owned by the imperial court, the army, and business concerns, made a total of 64. (From an article entitled "Women Who Drive Automobiles" in the *Niroku Newspaper*, 1909.) Automobiles, then, were to some extent imported for private use by members of the upper class.

The situation in Osaka was somewhat different. In 1903 the various steam-driven automobiles being produced in the United States were exhibited in the Fifth National Exhibition, and an American technician made quite an impression with his driving demonstrations. Within the year Nakagawa Tatsunosuke and certain of his colleagues purchased two steamers from America and opened a bus line between Ebisu-machi and Umeda. In 1905 they formed the Osaka Automobile Corporation, Limited, and succeeded in establishing a new line from Nihombashi-zume to Sakai, but in the next year they sold the company to a foreigner named Scholass (?). The new owner increased his capital, bought more vehicles, and continued the bus service, but, perhaps because he was a foreigner, business did not go well, and in 1908 he turned the company over to Sakurai Yoshiki and the latter's associates. In August of the same year the enterprise was dissolved because of its inability to compete with the expanding tramway lines.

Gasoline-propelled automobiles are said to have been introduced in Osaka in 1910, but to have been abandoned because of their price and the high cost of maintaining them. Apparently street-cars, passenger boats, and rickshas sufficed to meet the city's needs. The total number of cars was only four in 1903, 15 in 1907, and 17 in 1912.

The first automobile in Nagoya is said to have been one purchased by the head of the Nagoya branch of the Kitahama Bank in 1907. During 1908 and 1909, the Tiger, Tsukamoto, and Nagoya Automobile Companies, each owned one vehicle which they rented out.

The automobile, then, was introduced in one way or another

to the three largest cities, but in 1912 there were still only 535 cars in the whole of Japan, and probably not a single truck. Aside from private automobiles owned by foreign diplomats, the Japanese army, and the Imperial Household Ministry, there was a handful of cabs engaged in commercial transport in the cities, and that is about the extent of the matter. The automobile had no connection with the vast majority of the population and was in no position to compete with the horse and wagon or the ricksha.

c. The Development of Railroads and Streetcar Lines

Of all the means of transportation introduced in the Meiji period, the railway did most to increase the volume and speed of traffic and to hasten Japan's modernization.

On September 12, 1872, the first Japanese railway line was officially opened between Shimbashi and Yokohama. The distance was only a little less than 18 miles, but the accomplishment that the railway represented thrilled the heart of every Japanese alive. Only 17 years later, in 1889, the laying of the thousandth mile of rails was celebrated in Nagoya, and often another 17 years, in 1906, a similar ceremony was held in the same city to celebrate the five-thousandth mile. In the fiscal year of 1911 the total length of railroad lines was 5,506 miles, while the number of passenger fares was 180,000,000, and the total amount of freight was 32,300,000 tons.

A compilation entitled "The Social and Economic Influence of Railways in Japan" was prepared from data pertaining to the years 1912 and 1913. Included were a number of distribution maps, among which were those for oil storage tanks and lumber mills. These indicate that there was a nation wide network of oil tanks, used primarily for lamp oil, and lumber mills, and that this network clearly coincides with the railway lines. The supply of new commodities made possible by the railway must have brought about a tremendous change in living

conditions throughout the country.

The expansion of railroads, on the other hand, created some rather curious short-term difficulties. Take the following for example :

The opening of the Tokyo-Sendai railway is a source of great joy to everyone in the Sendai area, but it has led to certain difficulties. For one thing, thanks to the convenient new transport system, merchants have taken to shipping fresh fish to Fukushima and Tokyo, and as a result the price of fish in Sendai has greatly increased. A sea-bream that used to sell for 20 *sen* is now 60 or 70 *sen*, and a flatfish that sold for 5 or 6 *sen* is now 17 or 18 *sen*. Other prices can be inferred from these. In any event, all the fishmongers are sold out. Conditions being such, poor people like us will soon be unable to eat fish even though we live here in the nation's chief fishing district. (*Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper*, January 12, 1888)

The coming of the railway caused a sharp rise in the price of firewood and charcoal in the Shirakawa District of Fukushima Prefecture and had a serious effect on prices in other areas. Ultimately, of course, the result was increased production in the provinces, accompanied by an influx of items hitherto unavailable. Watermelons and vegetables were now shipped from Tokyo to Fukushima and Sendai, and people of the northeast region were for the first time able to buy fruit in considerable quantities. After railways were built in the northernmost areas of Honshū, cheap rice from this region began to flow into the Chichibu District, arousing, incidentally, much opposition on the part of Saitama rice merchants who had traditionally supplied this market. (*Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper*, November 28, 1888). When the Tōkaidō Line was completed, there was an immediate increase in the demand for Osaka glass products, and traveling bags began to sell well. The opening of the Tōhoku Line led to increased profits for cherry and peach growers in Yamagata and Fukushima Prefectures, and in general the railroads led to

an expansion of local industry. The *Report on Life in the Meiji Period* lists the following answers to questions concerning railroad:

- (1) When a railway station was opened about one *ri* (approximately 2.4 miles) away, all goods were converted into money, and living conditions changed greatly (Uchigō-mura, Tsukui-gun, Kanagawa Prefecture, Ubeno-mura, Iwami-gun, Tottori Prefecture).
- (2) When a station was installed at a distance of a half *ri* or a *ri* away, all freight (principally lumber, firewood, and charcoal) began to flow into the station, from whence it was shipped to the vicinity of Kyoto (Yoshitomi-mura, Funai-gun, Kyoto Metropolitan Prefecture: Mitake-mura, Amata-gun, Kyoto Metropolitan Prefecture).
- (3) When the San-in Line was opened in this area, there was an increase in special farm products, and prices in mountainous areas went up (Ayabe City).
- (4) When a station was built, hotels and shops were built in front of it, and silk, ice, and tea factories sprang up in the vicinity. A new street lined with the houses of railway workers appeared (Kameyama-machi, Suzuka-gun, Mie Prefecture).
- (5) (Taisho period) A lumber yard appeared near the station and became the center of lumber deliveries (Nabari-machi, Naga-gun, Mie Prefecture).
- (6) (Taishō period) Guests at the local warm springs became more numerous, and lumber shipments more convenient (Iriki-machi, Satsuma-gun, Kagoshima Prefecture).

The appearance of railway stations must have caused similar phenomena all over the country, and at the same time each station became the point out of which passenger buses, rickshas, and freight wagons operated.

The city of Taira, Fukushima Prefecture, was a castle town

in the Tokugawa period, and one cannot suppose that it was ever troubled by extended water shortages, but when a station on the Jōban Line was built on the outskirts of the city, the population expanded so that people had to buy water for their everyday needs. In 1898, when Ono Hana's family moved to Taira, they were fortunate enough to have a well, but to guard against water-theives they had to keep it under lock and key at night. In the Fukagawa district in Tokyo as well as in parts of Osaka, Hiroshima, and Hakata, the construction of water mains fell behind general expansion, and many were forced to purchase their water. The same was often true of new shops that sprang up in the vicinity of railway stations.

The appearance of a new station in any district meant such vast social and economic changes that many people harbored misgivings about railway construction. When plans were laid to have the Mito Line pass near the village of Ueno, Makabegun, Ibaraki Prefecture, the villagers organized an opposition movement for fear that the railway would cause an influx of burglars. And in fact there were not a few suspicious train travelers who caused trouble in the provinces.

We doubt that it is fair exchange for Sendai fish, but the trains have been carrying a fair number of pick-pockets and the like from Tokyo to the Sendai area, and the people thereabouts, many of whom have suffered losses, are quite disturbed. (*Tokyo Nichi-nichi*, January 12, 1888).

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that some districts protested against railway projects. When the San-in Main Line was laid, a station was supposed to be built in a district called Takatsu, which is now a part of the city of Ayabe, but the residents were so afraid the railway would simply carry off their wealth to the city that they opposed the station, and with success. Even the town of Fuchū in greater Tokyo divided into pro-station and anti-station factions. The anti-station group, which consisted largely of the class that had run the town in the days when it had been a Tokugawa highway station, plus

a few horse-bus operators, won out, and the railway station was placed at Kokubun-ji. The inhabitants of Fuchū later regretted their actions, and many other cities now suffer from the fact that an earlier generation had the railway station built on the outskirts of town instead of in a centrally located district. At the same time it should be observed that there was a natural tendency to build on the outskirts of towns because of land prices.

In general towns located on railway lines soon found the new means of transportation exceedingly beneficial, and those still out of reach began to feel discommoded by outdated methods. People living relatively near a station complained that it was too difficult to reach, and merchants bewailed the fact that all the business was going to concerns situated in the vicinity of the local station. Discontent of this sort hastened the construction and improvement of roads leading to and from stations and increased the demand for new rail lines in the more isolated regions.

The distribution maps appended to "The Social and Economic Influence of Railways in Japan" indicate the direction of flow of the principal commodities in the late Meiji and early Taishō periods. It is apparent therefrom that in the case of lumber, fresh fish, and salted fish, both the stations of despatch and the stations of arrival were distributed fairly equitably throughout the nation. On the other hand, while charcoal was dispatched from widely distributed points, its destination was most often one of the growing cities of Kantō, Kansai, or northern Kyūshū. Conversely, iron and oil were distributed to a surprisingly large number of stations. Tiles and bricks were produced over a wide area, but were for the larger part shipped into Tokyo or Osaka. In the case of paper, Muroran and Otaru are given alongside Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya as principal points of arrival, but this is no doubt because the two cities received quantities of paper from nearby factories for transshipment by boat. Cotton cloth and thread were sent principally to the manufacturing area of Osaka and Kōbe, which indicates

that these distribution maps give as points of arrival the places in which the materials in question were processed or reprocessed and do not show the route whereby the finished products reached the consumer.

The almost all paper was sent to Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya, for instance, may have resulted in part from the system of merchandising, but one wonders if it is not due even more to the fact that the publishing and printing industries were located in those cities. Glass was shipped primarily from stations in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya, but no distribution map is furnished for the points of arrival in this case, presumably because they were too widely distributed for any one place to stand out. In any event, the maps, detailed and useful though they are, indicate little more than the distribution of industrial activity in various fields. This in itself, however, is a considerable contribution.

In 1908 the total amount of coal produced or imported was 14,650,000 tons, and the amount transported by the railways, for which coal was the principal freight item, was 10,086,000 tons. The *Railway Statistical Yearbook for 1910* gives the following figures :

	AMOUNT TRANSPORTED BY RAIL	TOTAL AMOUNT TRANSPORTED
Rice	1,163,000 tons	8,017,000 tons
Oil	242,000 ✓	487,000 ✓
Salt	220,000 ✓	617,000 ✓
Soy sauce	98,000 ✓	409,000 ✓

This would make it appear that there was, especially in the case of rice, some means of transport more important than railways, but the figures here are unclear—even the unit is uncertain, and we are told nothing concerning the method of compilation. In any event it is certain that ships were an important factor in transport in this period.

Since the principal railways were built along the coast line,

parallel to the Tokugawa-period highways, many of the old stopping places as well as the ports that had formerly prospered from intercoastal shipping now fell into the decline. At the same time, we might note, the railways did not directly affect traffic on cross-country highways and on rivers.

In any event, freight gradually came to be transported by train rather than by ship, but since railways were operated by many small local companies, it was frequently impossible to ship anything over a long distance without having it changed from train to train. Direct passenger service between Shimbashi and Shimonoseki and between Ueno and Niigata was not inaugurated till August 1, 1905, and direct long-distance freight service probably did not come until after the nationalization of the railways in 1906.

d. Growing Dependence on Railways

In May, 1872, when the Shinagawa-Yokohama railway was opened, there were only two round-trip trains per day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, but on the third day this was increased to three. The number of passengers increased steadily; 41,310 in June, 69,298 in July 69,800 in August, and 89,931 in September. By July, 1873, a manufacturer named Morita, who made something called "Treasure Pills" for seasickness, was advertising small packages of his product at 6.25 *sen* each in the newspapers and doing a heavy business at Shimbashi and Yokohama Stations. (*The History of Newspaper Advertising in Japan.*) We do not know the exact speed of the trains, but they are said to have covered the distance between Yokohama and Shinagawa in thirty-five minutes, which is not slow, and it is not surprising that many passengers had recourse to Mr. Morita's cure for giddiness.

According to *The New Prosperity in Tokyo*, "this was an age when the government was everything, and the people nothing. Railway officials sold tickets as though they were doing the

passenger a great favor, but the passengers often stood up for their rights, some even going so far as to haggle over the fare." There must have been a certain amount of unpleasant friction, but more and more people rode the trains. In April, 1890, when the Third National Industrial Exhibit was in session, Shimbashi Station handled from 8,000 to more than 12,000 passengers a day. By 1909, passenger trains were departing from the same station at intervals of from 10 to 30 minutes, there being a total of 82 departures each day. (*Niroku Newspaper* August 7, 1909.)

It seems unlikely, however, that traffic on the Tōkaidō Line increased at a steady unchanging rate. Instead, there were probably sudden large increase each time the entire route between two cities, as for example, Tokyo and Nagoya, or Tokyo and Kyoto, was opened. Underlying this phenomenon was the difficulty of making trips in the days when the railway system was still incomplete, and one had to change from conveyance to conveyance to go any considerable distance. The following was written in 1891;

Having passed Itouogawa, I traveled by ricksha over a dreadful and dangerous road to Naoetsu. At the time there was a 100-ton ship running between Iwase and Naoetsu, but between late October and March or April, it was packed to the danger point with passengers, and I decided to come by land. At a little after three in the afternoon on the same day, I boarded a train at Naoetsu and went to Nagano, where I stopped at the Ogiya. On the twenty-sixth I worshipped at the Zenkō-ji and then went by train to Karuizawa. From Karuizawa I took stagecoach across Usui Pass and arrived after about two hours at Yokogawa. At that point I again got on a train, and that evening to my great joy, I finally arrived at Ueno Station in Tokyo. This was at 7 p.m. on the evening of the third day after leaving Tomiyama.

Such records are common among memoirs of the Meiji period.

Under the circumstances, we may infer that it was next to impossible before the latter years of the era to ship freight over long distances by rail.

At first trains were too scarce to be of much use to commuters, but in 1891 the Japan Railway Company began selling commuters' tickets at cut rates. Passes good for one month or two months were sold at a discount of 20% (40% to students) and 25% (50% to students) respectively. (*Tokyo Nichi-nichi Newspaper*, September 12, 1891.) By this time there were line between Shinagawa and Akabane, north of Tokyo, and between Shinjuku and Nishi-Ogikubo, west of Tokyo, and both must have carried a large and ever-increasing number of short-distance passengers.

By 1897, residents of Tokyo were able to travel by train to pleasure resorts such as Kamakura, Enoshima, and Hakone. The following newspaper account tells of the heavy traffic on an especially hot day in August, 1898:

Railroads are gradually being built all over the country, and many places that were once quiet and lonely have overnight become prosperous and lively. Since the opening of the Tōkaidō Line, there has been an increasing stream of visitors from Tokyo to Kamakura, Enoshima, and the Seven Springs of Hakone. There were 730 guests in Kamakura and Enoshima on Saturday the eleventh and 830 on Sunday the twelfth. Maybe times aren't so bad after all.

From about this time more and more people began to "go off for the weekend," and the sightseeing areas south of Tokyo were increasingly crowded. Times were not, in fact, very good however, and few ordinary city people could afford to go running off for a weekend in the Western fashion. These weekend travelers were by and large high officials or important business men. On July 22, 1901, the *Tokyo Nichinichi* carried the following report:

With the heat getting more unbearable by the day, there is a growing stream of travelers to summer resorts. Traffic

is particularly heavy between Saturday and Monday mornings. There is an especially large number of middle-class and upper-class train passengers on these days, and one notices many ladies with their children. The trains are doing a prosperous business. Since Westerners are also numerous, the upper- and middle-class cars on the Tōkaidō Line, as well as the Yokosuka Line, seem especially crowded. Last Monday morning I came back to Tokyo in an upper-class car on the Yokosuka Line. The car was fairly empty as far as Ōfuna, but at Ōfuna a lot of people from Kōzu and Ōiso transferred to our train, and the upper-class cars were so jammed that one could hardly move.

One supposes from this that a fair number of persons who worked in Tokyo or Yokohama during the week kept weekend houses in the Shōnan area.

In the Tokyo-Yokohama area, ordinary people were especially numerous on the trains during traditional holidays, such as temple and shrine festivals. In this period, the only festival that the railway lines actually promoted was the monthly celebration at the Temple of the Great Master in Kawasaki, but they made rather a to-do over that. On May 21, 1898, for instance, the Shimbashi Railway Office dispatched six special trains to Kawasaki and in addition had two express trains stop there.

In Tokyo it was the custom to send children out to work at other people's houses, and during the New Year and Bon vacations the trains were full of young apprentices and maids returning home for a few days.

In July, 1892, the Japan Railway Company began running a special excursion train to Nikkō, which had even before this drawn quite a few sightseers, and this service was subsequently continued on weekends every summer. During 1892, the train left Ueno Station at 5:15 a.m. and arrived at its destination at 9:25 a.m. The return train left at 6:25 p.m. and arrived at Ueno at 10:30 p.m. The round trip fare was ¥1.02 for adults and ¥.60 for children, and the tickets were good for

four days. Apparently there were plenty of customers, for on July 16, 1905, the *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper* commented that "with the coming of the season for summer trips, the thoughts of the average person have understandably turned to Nikkō, known so far and wide as the 'perfect' place." In the same year, the number of excursion trains on this line was increased and a discount of 50% of the fare offered.

What with the success of the Nikkō excursions, on July 15, 1905, the Sōbu Railway began running excursion trains from Ryōgoku Station in Tokyo to the seaside resort of Chōshi. This was the day of the Bon festival, and the same newspaper reported as follows:

Tradespeople of every description flocked into Ryōgoku Station, and the platform was mobbed. Among the passengers, many wore straw bonnets, leggings, and straw sandals. There was a good number of madams and prostitutes who had come to peddle their charms, and the old ladies too, had turned out in force. There were couples holding on to each other and young and old helping each other along. Altogether there must have been more than 400 people. At 5:15 the train set forth in the direction of Chōshi. During the next 7 or 8 minutes 30 or 40 latecomers came running frantically up to the tracks. They were fortunately able to board the regular train at 6. To-day is another holiday, and there will probably be no fewer passengers than yesterday. The railway company is delighted with the success of the venture and will probably run a second excursion train in the near future.

In the Kyoto-Osaka region, with all its historic temples and shrines, the local railways seem to have been as active as those in Tokyo in publicizing festivals and promoting sightseeing trips. As it happened, Japan was at this time enjoying the wave of prosperity that followed the Russo-Japanese war, and the public seemed as anxious to organize group excursions as the railway companies were to have them do so. When the *Niroku*

Newspaper was celebrating the completion of its new building in 1905, for example, it invited 400 of its readers to go on a trip to Itsukushima Island. Later, the Central Control Bureau of the National Railways issued the following announcement:

To the owners of factories with 50 or more workers:

We have decided to make an unprecedented reduction of from 40% to 60% of the regular fare for laborers traveling in groups. (*Niroku Newspaper*, September 3, 1909.)

Non-military group travel by rail, incidentally, appears to have been begun with school-graduation trips. On the occasion of the National Industrial Exhibition of 1890, the following announcement was made:

The Japan Railway Company is giving a discount to graduating students who wish to round out their education by visiting the Ueno Exhibition in Tokyo. The offer applies to schools in all districts through which the company's lines pass. For groups of 50 persons or more, including supervisors, the discount is 30% of the regular fare. For individuals it is 20%. Tickets may be obtained by applying to the appropriate prefectural education bureau. (*Tokyo Nichinichi* May 1, 1890.)

This probably did much to promote the custom of sending children off on trips when they completed their schooling.

In the Meiji thirties and forties, many people in the Tokyo-Yokohama area who otherwise would have had little chance to travel went on group excursion to shrines, temples, and famous scenic spots with their neighbors or fellow workers. Even children finishing primary school began to go on "graduation" trips. And there were other sorts of travel too. In the *Niroku Newspaper* for March 13, 1910, for example, the following was reported:

The various government departments have formed the bad habit of using travel funds left over at the end of each year to send groups of officials off on unnecessary trips under various pretexts. This year the government has

resolved that all surplus travel funds must be returned to the treasury and no persons dispatched on journeys unless necessary.

A comparison of the time and money required for travel in the early and late years of Meiji reveals the vastness of the change that took place. Before the coming of the railway, it took 13 or 14 days to walk from Edo to Kyoto and 12 or 13 days to go by palanquin. Around 1877, 20 or 30 days were required to go from Yokohama to Hyōgo on an old-style sailing vessel. When steamers were put into operation, this was reduced to from 30 to 36 hours. In the Tokugawa period, the fare for the usual palanquin between Edo and Osaka was 95,577 cash, or ¥9.58, and this did not change drastically in the early years of Meiji, for in 1883 it cost ¥8.54 to go by ricksha from Yokohama to Osaka, and to this must be added the train fare from Tokyo to Yokohama, or 62.5 *sen*, which brings the total to ¥9.165. But when the Tōkaidō Line was opened between Tokyo and Osaka, the fare thirdclass was reduced to ¥3.55, and in addition hotel fees along the way were eliminated. To top it all, the journey could be made in a day and with complete safety. It was inevitable that the railroad would alter the popular attitude toward travel.

e. The Streetcar and the Urbanization of Suburbs.

The first electric streetcar line in Japan was opened in Kyoto in January, 1895, by the Kyoto Electric Railway Company. In May, 1898, a second line was opened in Nagoya. In Tokyo, the first line began operating on August 22, 1903, and it was followed only twenty days later by a line in Osaka. We might observe, however, that although the Tokyo and Osaka lines were inaugurated around the same time, their histories are rather different.

In Tokyo the Tokyo Rail Bus Company reorganized itself as the Tokyo Electric Train Company and opened a streetcar line

between Shinagawa and Shimbashi, which as mentioned above, was put into operation on August 22, 1903. Only 3 weeks later, on September 15, a rival firm called the Tokyo City Railway Company opened a line between Sukiya-bashi and Kandabashi. In November Tokyo Electric Train opened a new line between Shimbashi and Ueno, and Tokyo City did likewise between and Hanzōmon. The next month Tokyo City extended its lines from Kandabashi to Ryōgoku and from Hanzōmon to Shinjuku, and in January, 1904, it opened a new line between Shōheibashi and Hongō 3-chōme. In February Tokyo Electric Train opened a line that ran from Nihombashi by way of Kodemma-chō and Asakusabashi to Kaminari-mon, and in the following month it linked Kaminari-mon with Ueno.

In a word the two companies kept trying to outdo each other in track mileage, and the result was a sudden increase in the number of passengers. In February, 1904, the fare for any distance along either line was fixed at 3 *sen*, but the streetcars were so packed from the moment they left the end of the line that people waiting at stops along the way could not board them, and there was talk of making the fare proportional to the distance. The real problem seems to have been not the question of fares, but the fact that the increase in number of cars did not keep pace with the rapid lengthening of the line.

While the two companies were fighting each other there appeared a third concern called the Tokyo Electric Railway Company, which in 1905 and 1906 opened lines from Tsuchibashi to Toranomon, from Ochanomizu to Higashi-take-cho, and from Shinanomachi to Tengenji-chō. Eventually the three companies decided in the interest of their own mutual profit to bury the hatchet, and in September, 1906, they merged into the Tokyo Railway Company, Limited. In 1911, the city of Tokyo purchased the firm, thus putting the streetcar lines under municipal control.

The general development of the streetcar lines prior to the merger of the three companies is indicated by the following statistics:

Year	Length of Tracks (At the end of the fiscal year)	Passengers	Average number of Passengers per Day.
1907	47.49 Miles	158,226,529	432,313
1908	54.10 "	162,796,896	446,019
1909	54.56 "	172,968,487	473,886
1910	58.77 "	187,616,869	514,019
1911	64.18 "	207,313,994	566,432
1912	71.60 "	225,495,343	617,795

At the time of purchase by the city of Tokyo there were in all 1054 streetcars, of which 131 were bogie-cars.

The *Niroku Newspaper* described the streetcar situation as follows:

Recently there have been far fewer cars operating on the Tokyo streetcar lines, and even at Suda-chō and the Ginza, where the most cars pass, one ordinarily has to wait five minutes for one's car. . . . Sometimes it takes 10 or 20 minutes, and then when the car finally comes, it is filled to capacity. Each morning during the hours when cut-rates apply, there is a grand rush of students and workers. Since the same number of cars runs regardless of the number of passengers, in the rush hours they are all jammed. Usually the people at the end of the line and the next few stops are able somehow to get aboard, but no one waiting at stops further along the way has a chance unless he fights like a madman. . . . Every morning at every stop one sees students and workers who have been unable to board the cut-rate cars and are waiting for a regular one. The most crowded lines are those that run from Shinjuku and Aoyama to Tsukiji, Kudan, and Ryōgoku, from Shio-chō to Akabanebashi from Shinagawa to Shim-bashi, and from Mita Sakurada to Hongō. Those who have to be at work at seven or seven-thirty are often late because of this situation, and if they work at a factory where the gates are closed when the hour for reporting

passed, they are out a whole day's work. (March 23, 1910)

It is clear from this that there were special cut-rate cars in the early morning and that the confusion during the rush hours was about the same as it is now. To tell the truth, the Tokyo streetcars had become as necessary to people as their legs, and in some ways more so. The success of the streetcars led eventually to the construction of electric train lines, such as the Yamate and Chūō Lines, which lined the suburbs with, and eventually made them an integral part of, the city.

In Osaka, the streetcar lines were under municipal management from the beginning. In the first stage, a line from Hanazonobashi to Coikkō was constructed. This involved a great deal of trouble over land acquisition, and after the completion of the line, considerable time elapsed before there was any further progress. Business was quiet on the line that existed, and since one of its terminals was on Osaka Bay, people playfully spoke of it as the "fishermen's streetcar line." In 1904, however, the Russo-Japanese war brought a stream of military and merchant vessels to the Port of Osaka, and the number of streetcar passengers increased accordingly.

Because of Osaka's narrow streets, plans to extend the streetcar lines usually ran up against problems of land acquisition. It was not until 1908, when the east-west line from Kūjō Nibandōri to Suekichibashi and the north-south line from Umeda to Ebisu were completed, that streetcars came to be of much use to the average resident. Though progress inside the city slow, however, the development of lines linking the suburban areas with the city proceeded at a fair pace. In 1908 the city and the Osaka Electric Train Company (later purchased by the Nankai Railway) signed an agreement to share tracks and vehicles, and in the following year the city made a similar arrangement with the Kyoto-Osaka Electric Railway Company and the Osaka-Kōbe Electric Railway Company. The rapid development of suburban railways in the Osaka-Kōbe region

was due not only to presence of these large cities in close proximity, but also to these cooperative agreement between private railroads and the municipal government. Occasioned primarily by the difficulty of purchasing land in the city, they nevertheless enabled the private suburban lines to center their activities in the urban area. This in an important feature in the history of electric railways in this area.

The Osaka-Kōbe Railway was the first interurban electric railway in Japan. It ran along the coast from Deiribashi in Osaka to San'nomiya in Kōbe and passed through a number of smaller towns and villages. It took one hour and twenty minutes to go the entire distance, and this fact greatly impressed residents of the area. In 1906, 1,512,000 passengers boarded the line in Osaka alone. (*History of Osaka in the Meiji and Taishō Periods.*)

Women do not seem to have used the trains to any large degree at first. Ono Hana, who at the time lived in a company house belonging at a new factory in Amagasaki, a stop on the line, says that she almost never went shopping in Osaka. Two or three times a year, however, she would attend a bargain sale or go on a buying spree with other ladies, and when this happened she and her companions would get off the Osaka-Kōbe train at Fukushima, walk to Watanabebashi, and go to the rest of the way by steamship for one *sen* each. Mrs. One has no recollection of municipal streetcars in those days.

In March, 1903, the Osaka Ferry Company began running a four-ship passenger service along the city's numerous rivers and canals, and for a time this was probably of greater service to urban residents than streetcars, though fires in 1909 and 1912 made it possible to widen a number of streets and hence to build more streetcar lines.

Most of the other interurban electric train lines in the Osaka region developed after 1907. A line was opened between Kyoto and Osaka in 1910, and in the same year the first section of what is now the Osaka-Kōbe Express was opened. In 1911

the Nankai Railway from Osaka to Wakayama was electrified. In the Tokyo region, the first suburban line was one running from Kawasaki to the nearby Temple of the Great Master. This was completed as early as 1897, but it was a very short line catering primarily to the people who went to worship at the temple. Later, however, this became the nucleus of the Tokyo-Yokohama Electric Railway, which opened in December, 1905. The Tōbu Railway was also opened in 1897, but it did very little business at first and was not electrified until much later. The Ōji Electric Railway and the Tamagawa Electric Railway were also opened in the Meiji period, but they do not compare in scale with the interurban railways in the Osaka region.

In Tokyo, one of the most important features in the history of electric railways was the development of full-fledged railways (*shōsen*) within the city, in particular the Yamate Line, which is now a belt line connecting the main urban centers, and the Chūō Line which traverses the city from east to west. In many ways these lines developed similarly to those mentioned above, but ultimately they were purchased by the national government and became not only important intraurban arteries, but the metropolitan hub of the national Railway System. The Meiji-period development of the lines that still exist is outlined in the following list.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Terminals</i>	<i>Year Opened</i>
Tōkaidō Line	Shiotome-Rikugō-gawa	September, 1872
	Hamamatsu-chō	December, 1909
	Karasumori	
Yamate Line	Shinagawa-Akabane	March, 1885
	Ikebukuro-Tabata	April, 1903
	Karasumori-Yūrakuchō	June, 1910
	Yūrakuchō-Gofukuchō	September, 1910
Chūō Line	Nishi-Ogikubo-Shinjuku	April, 1889
	Shinjuku-Ushigome	October, 1894
	Ushigome-Iidamachi	April, 1895
	Iidamachi-Ochanomizu	December, 1904

<i>Name</i>	<i>Terminals</i>	<i>Year Opened</i>
Chūō Line	Ochanomizu-Shōheibashi	April, 1908
	Shōheibashi-Manseibashi	April, 1912
Tōhoku Main Line	Ueno-Akabane	July, 1883
	Ueno-Akihabara (for freight car)	November, 1890
Jōban Line	Tabata-Kanemachi	December, 1896
	Mikawajima-Sumidagawa	December, 1896
	Nippori-Mikawajima	April, 1905
Sōbu Line	Ichikawa-Honjo	December, 1894
	Honjo-Ryōgokubashi	April, 1904

These lines are constructed by the Japan Railway, the Kōbu Railway, the Sōbu Railway, the government Bureau of Railways, and other concerns. Beginning in 1904 with the section between Iidamachi and Nakano on the Chūō Line, all the lines were gradually electrified.

A number of gaps remained at the end of the Meiji period. In particular, neither the Chūō Line nor other lines terminating at Ueno were connected with Tokyo Station, and this is as much as to say that the city's arteries were not connected with the heart.

The electric train facilities under the control of the Bureau of Railways were as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Average Length</i>	<i>Number of Cars</i>
1909	29.6 Mile	9
1910	30.7 "	11
1911	31.0 "	30
1912	31.0 "	36

The switch to electricity had barely begun. The number of passengers on nationally owned railways in Tokyo at that time was as follows(See p. 236):

Compared to present-day statistics these figures are insignificant, but at any rate the network of nationally owned railways

<i>Year</i>	<i>Length of Lines (At the end of the fiscal year)</i>	<i>Passengers</i>	<i>Average Number of Passengers per Day</i>
1908	57.59 Mile	16,384,366	44,889
1909	58.38	17,946,084	49,167
1910	61.10	22,545,742	61,769
1911	61.10	26,207,506	71,605
1912	61.26	28,815,193	78,946

in Tokyo was almost complete in the Meiji period, and these railways, together with city streetcars were gradually drawing the suburbs into the city itself. According to a report entitled "The Development of Transportation and the Increase in Population in the Suburbs of Tokyo," published in 1928 by the Tokyo Municipal Government, the indices of population increase were as follows (the figures for 1897=100):

<i>Year</i>	<i>City Proper</i>	<i>85 Suburbs</i>	<i>Breakdown of Suburban Sections</i>			
			<i>No. 1</i>	<i>No. 2</i>	<i>No. 3</i>	<i>No. 4</i>
1898	100	100	100	100	100	100
1903	126	109	112	109	104	106
1908	152	145	201	153	114	113
1912	142	200	344	201	131	123

Section No. 1 comprised a more or less circular zone of eighteen suburbs continuous to the city proper, among which were Shinagawa, Shibuya, Yodobashi, Ōkubo, Sugamo, Minami-Senjū, Terajima, and Kamedo. Section No. 2 comprised sixteen communities lying in a somewhat more distant zone, such as Ōi, Ebara, Meguro, Nakano, Ochiai, Itabashi, Ōhisa, Mikawajima, Senju, Sumida, and Kawatsugawa. Section No. 1, which lay in general along the Yamate Line and included most of the places where city streetcar lines came to an end, displayed the highest rate of population increase by far, and its urbanization exerted an influence on Section No. 2 as well.

Just before electric trains were put on the Yamate Line, the following comment was published:

As a result of long planning by the Bureau of Railroads, electric trains are to be put on the Yamate Line in mid-November, and at the moment the bureau is considering a plan to revise the third-class fares at that time so that the maximum will be 10 *sen* and the minimum 2 *sen*. It is expected that the new trains will run between Karasumori and Akabane at intervals of about 10 minutes from 5 in the morning until 12 at night. During the rush hours around 7 a. m. and 4 p. m., steam-trains will be added at Ueno and Shimbashi. In addition a number of steam trains will be provided to assure good connections for passengers transferring to the Chūō, Shin-etsu, and Nikkō Lines. The new arrangements will bring many conveniences to people living in the suburbs, and it is probable that many new people will move to the areas around Meguro, Shibuya, Sugamo, and Ōtsuka. (*Niroku Newspaper*, August 12, 1909.)

It is clear from this that the area along the Yamate Line was becoming a popular residential district for people working in the city, and the electrification of the line no doubt promoted this trend. In the same year the same paper reported that the suburbs of Tokyo had developed greatly since the end of the Russo-Japanese war, and that the seashore in Ōi-machi had now become a fine place to live, with beautiful scenery and good fresh air. Yodobashi, the paper said, was in rather inconvenient place, but since rent was cheap and there were few inducements to wasteful spending, it had become a residential district for people with middle or lower incomes. Between Senjū and Ōji, it appears, various factories had sprung up, and the paper mentioned some 20 in Ōji, among them the Ōji Paper Company, the Tokyo Paper Company, the Shimozuke Textile Company, and the Army Medical Supply Factory. The population of Ōji had grown from 500 or 600 in 1872 to 8,200 in 1892, 12,000 in 1902, and 201,000 in 1908. By the time of the writing of

this article, the paper estimated, it must have reached 23,000 or 24,000. Anticipating the increase in workers, eating and drinking establishments as well as various stores and shops, had multiplied, and they were all making a good deal of money. A moving-picture had recently opened, and the price of land had skyrocketed. Whereas a *tsubo* (about 4 square yards) had been sold for only ¥50 before the war, now it was hardly to be bought for ¥300—a price equal to that commanded by land comparatively in downtown areas like Hongō and Ushigome. Prices were generally high, but there was one thing that was cheap, and that was house rent. The reason, according to the newspaper, was that more houses than were needed had been built in anticipation of the arrival of new workers. (*Niroku Newspaper*, September 2-3, 1909.)

With the city expanding in this way, ideas for city planning began to appear in newspapers. One suggested, for example, that the city be expanded to cover an area about 25 miles square, and that ample roads and parks, as well as water and sewage facilities, be built. Each family of five should be provided with at least 200 *tsubo* (approximately one-sixth of an acre) of land, and residential sections separated from business districts. (*Niroku Newspaper* September 1, 1909.) Similar plans were also advanced in other large cities.

7. CHANGES IN WATER TRANSPORT

Coastal Transport

Before the Meiji period cargo moving between Osaka and Edo was transported by what were called "lattice-rail ships" (*higaki kaisen*) and "barrel ships" (*taru kaisen*). The former were rather large vessels used by Osaka merchants to transport various types of freight, while the latter were used primarily for sake (stored in barrels—hence the name "barrel ships"). In addition there was an important route linking Osaka with

Matsumae in the northeast.

In April, 1868, the Maus Company of America put one of its ships, called the "Staunch," on the route between Osaka and Kōbe, and after the port of Osaka was opened to foreign settlers in the seventh month of the same year, several foreign trading companies followed suit. For a time the marine transport between Kōbe and Osaka and in nearby waters seemed destined to be monopolized by foreigners. To be sure, the Osaka Transport Bureau put a steamship named the Naniwa-maru on the route between Osaka and Yokohama, but its effectiveness seems to have been rather limited.

In the first month of 1870, the government created the Marine Transport Company, which was under the supervision of the Bureau of Trade, but was financed half by the government and half by private interests. The company had two steamships which plied the Tokyo-Yokohama-Osaka-Kōbe route three times a month. Unfortunately, the enterprise was ill-managed, and only a year later it was handed over to something called the Ship-handling Office (*Kaisō Toriatsukai-sho*), which was later reorganized as the Mail Steamship Company. The business did not go well, however, and in 1875, the company was disbanded. Its vessels were given free of charge to the Mitsubishi Trading Company, an enterprise which had developed greatly in the course of the Saga Rebellion and the invasion of Taiwan. So began the history of the Mitsubishi shipping empire, later to gain worldwide fame through the NYK lines.

In the above way, steamship transport got off to a relatively early start in Meiji Japan. There were objections, however. Witness the following letter, which appeared in the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* on January 24, 1875:

While five or six years ago there was very little steamship traffic, and the famous sake brewers of Noda, in Settsu, held firmly to the belief that sake shipped in steamships would spoil. They continued doggedly to ship their product to Tokyo in the old "barrel ships," and to make matters

worse, when some brave soul did ship a shipment of sake by steamship, the sake wholesalers in Tokyo refused to accept it... In an attempt to end all this foolishness in the fifth month of 1870, we sent 20 *da* (1 *da*=approximately 14 gallons) of Noda sake by steamship under the name of the Kōbe Trading Company and had it delivered to the Tsukiji Trading Company in Tokyo. We used the trading company's names for fear that the sake wholesalers would refuse the shipment and allow it to stand around in hot warehouses until it really did spoil...

Within a year a good deal of sake was being sent by steamship..., but the speed of the deliveries meant a steady supply of the beverage and consequently no fluctuations in its price. Consequently a number of foolish people secretly tried to secure a ban on shipping by steamship so as to bring back the sharp price fluctuations of the past.

Thus the increased transport capacity that resulted from the use of steamships was a blow to merchants who had been profiting from supply fluctuations, and they no doubt put up much resistance, but it was destined to be of little avail. After the outbreak of the Satsuma Rebellion, a number of local steamship companies sprang up. Before long, some 110 vessels, owned by more than seventy operators, were plying the Seto Inland Sea to and from Osaka. Competition grew fierce, and even a rate agreement established in 1881 failed to curb it materially. Eventually the operators banded together and formed the Osaka Shōsen Company (OSK), but even so competition remained a major difficulty until after 1890, when the various operators finally managed to work out suitable agreements on lines and rates.

In Tokyo, a concern called the Tokyo Sailing Company (Tokyo Fūhansen Kaisha) attempted to break the Mitsubishi monopoly on shipping. In 1882, together with several other transport firms, it formed the Kyōdō Transport Company, and a rate war ensued. At one point both Kyōdō and Mitsubishi

were carrying passengers free of charge and furnishing each of them a hand towel in addition. This could not keep up long, of course, and in 1885, the two companies merged to form the Nihon Yūsen Kaisha (NYK).

In 1882, when the Kyōdō Transport Company was formed, Shinagawa Yajirō made a speech from which the following is an excerpt:

The total number of vessels in Japan is as follows:

Year	Steamships		Sailing Vessels	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
1872	96	23,364	35	8,321
1881	312	42,463	394	44,588

Despite the increase indicated, the volume of intercoastal shipping grew so rapidly during the period that shipping rates were continually on the rise. The shortage of vessels has finally been remedied only by the leasing of foreign ships.

The annual number of old-style Japanese vessels in operation was as follows:

Year	Capacity less than 500 koku	Capacity more than 500 koku
1873	21,156	1,536
1874	21,147	1,526
1875	19,208	1,476
1876	18,420	1,499
1877	17,387	1,369
1878	17,614	1,521
1879	17,755	1,530

As indicated, the number gradually decreased until 1877. This was because ships were being converted to Western styles. The subsequent increase was due to the demand created by the war in the southwest. During this war, incidentally, the government ordered Mitsubishi to purchase several large steamships,

and Mitsubishi was very worried about what it would do with them after the war, but they have been assigned to Hokkaidō and other northern shipping at what is said to be a tremendous profit.

It is clear then that the transport demand has increased. As for foreign shipping, in the year ending in June, 1881, foreign vessels calling in Japanese ports numbered 585 steamships (808,030 tons) and 476 sailing vessels (242,477 tons).

Year before last the Commissioners in charge of Land Development were unable to ship 56,000 *koku* of rice because of the shortage of vessels. A tremendous amount of cargo is piling up all over the country.

Despite the competition between shipping companies, there was a shortage of transport facilities. This no doubt stimulated the spread of railways, but there were limits to the speed with which railways could be laid, and ships were more and more in demand.

Though in the Meiji twenties and thirties an increasing proportion of the nation's transport was handled by train, marine traffic remained active, especially between the main metropolitan areas and such islands or peninsulas as could be easily reached by boat. Old-style Japanese boats, whose sails were fixed so that they were dependent on a favorable wind, were replaced

Year	Ships Measured by Tonnage				Ships Measured by Rice Capacity	
	Total	Over 100 Tons	Under 100 Tons		Under 500 Koku	
		Registered	Registered	Not registered	Registered	Not registered
1903	3,934	1,221	2,291	420	812	18,358
1904	3,940	1,206	2,314	417		
1905	4,132	1,216	2,480	433		
1906	4,547	1,253	2,789	503		21,470
1907	4,811	1,294	2,914	601		19,467
1908	5,379	1,308	3,205	864	1,230	20,317

by western boats, or more often outfitted with Western sails, and sailboats continued to ply busily back and forth from islands and up and down the coast.

The average person was inclined to suppose that steamships replaced sailing craft, and to be sure this was to some extent true in the case of large ships, but smaller sailing vessels increased in number, as is indicated in the above table:

8. THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES

a. The Creation of the Postal System

Prior to the Meiji period, mail was sent only by runners, who worked in relays from station to station along the highways. In the last years of the Tokugawa period, however, the station system virtually collapsed, and the Meiji government was therefore faced at the outset with the problem of establishing a dependable means of communication. In the ninth month of 1868, a fixed system of stations was established, and in the third month of 1870, postal regulations were instituted. At the same time rates for the payment of the merchants who employed the mail carriers and days for the delivery of mail between Tokyo and Kyoto were fixed. The new postal system thereupon began to take form under the diligent leadership of Maejima Mitsuru, the Acting Minister of Postal Stations. Maejima commented on the early history of the system in his memoirs as follows:

In the beginning management was a difficult problem. It was not as though the new system had been adopted from the West after a careful study. The Tokugawa system had been very inconvenient, but there was nothing else to work with. To send a runner off with one letter involved a great deal of expense, and in order to avoid this sort of thing something that happened to be similar to the Western system was adopted. Later we came to understand

the Western method better and adopted it.

On the fourth day of the twelfth month of 1870 the chancellery issued an order providing for the erection of post boxes and the sale of stamps at the various stations between Shinagawa and Ōtsu and between Fushimi and Moriguchi. By the first month of the following year, letters from Tokyo to Kyōto and Osaka were being dispatched each day by runners working in relays. The time required for the mail to reach the western cities was thirty-six hours for Kyoto and thirty-nine for Osaka. Post offices were established at important centers in the large cities, there being twelve in Tokyo, seven in Kyoto, and eight in Osaka, and postal service was also provided for communities lying within a radius of about 10 miles from the regular stations. The new uniform system was widely praised, and indeed it appears to have functioned successfully. Mail service was extended toward the end of 1871 to Nagasaki, and only a year later to prefectural capitals, as well as important ports, fords, and market towns all over the country. The number of post offices or mail-handling offices was now 980. Still, the new postal service was violently opposed by the former private mail carriers, and in many instances ordinary people seem not to have grasped the meaning of the system. Mr. Maejima records in his memoirs cases in which people haggled over the price of sending letters or complained about not being given a chair and a cup of tea at the post office as they might be at a private store. Some abused the postal clerks so vociferously that the latter resigned. The trouble, apparently, was that people did not appreciate the fact that the government postal service was very different from the privately operated carrier service of the past. The government therefore began attempting in various other ways to impress upon the people the fact that this was an official enterprise. In 1873 "Mail-handling Offices" became "Postal Bureaus," and every effort was made to convince people that one could be absolutely certain that one's letter would be delivered provided one addressed an stamped

it properly and put it in a mailbox.

In the seventh month of 1872, Imba Prefecture, which no longer exists, issued the following announcement to its people:

Postal service has now been instituted, and mail is being carried not only to all districts throughout the nation, whether near or far, but even to the farthest ends of Asia, Europe, and America. . . . Thanks to the mail service, it is as though those who live thousands of miles away were in the next block. Hitherto when children went off to work and were separated from their parents, they were virtually unable to communicate. Fathers and sons, brothers and sisters could not send each other New Year's greetings or inquiries concerning the weather because of the high cost of runners. . . . Now by the gracious will of the emperor a letter weighing four *momme* (about 1/3 oz.) can be sent 25 *ri* (1 *ri*=2.2 mi.) for 1 *sen* or 50 *ri* for 2 *sen*, so that even the poorest people can afford to use the mails when necessary. . . ."

Propaganda of this sort led to general understanding and appreciation of the postal system, and letters of praise from companies or individuals often appeared in newspapers. At the same time there were occasionally complaints about the length of time required for a letter to be delivered. Actually, though there must have been instances in which mail was delayed for long periods, the postal authorities labored diligently to make the service as rapid as possible. In March, 1873, three classes of mail were created—regular, and "flying." It was stipulated that "flying" mail must travel 2½ *ri*, express mail 2 *ri*, and ordinary mail 1½ *ri*, per hour. The mail service was in fact so fast and so cheap that many predicted it would not last long, but it thrived, and gradually even ordinary people developed the habit of writing letters. Envelopes were introduced from the West, and paper stores began to sell a wide variety of stationery, some of which was quite beautiful and ornate. One thorn in the side of the postal officials was the Japanese

script, which, as is well known, lends itself to imaginative and difficult calligraphy. People were urged to curb their artistic impulses and address letters legibly, and it is very likely that the exigencies of sending letters led to clearer handwriting on the part of the populace at large.

In Tokyo private operators of postal services switched over to land transport around 1872, and in 1873 the government outlawed the old courier system as a private enterprise. The postal system as such was brought to completion with the establishment of a uniform postal tax in the same year.

There were still no railroads to speak of, and mail was carried by handcart, stagecoach, or steamship. The following was written of the early Meiji period:

In those days there was no train between Kanda and Takasaki or Maebashi, and a company called Kōun-sha carried the mail in stagecoaches. There were about three runs per day each way. The first left at 5 in the morning and the last at 10 in the evening. The midday coach was a special express, dispatched as needed, and ordinarily used primarily by silk merchants and market traders. It took about 10 hours to travel the 28 *ri* to Takasaki. The night coach carried 50 or 60 sacks of mail which it delivered to stations along the way, picking up more at each stop. In addition it also carried passengers and shipments of fish, but this was kept secret. It was just the company's way of making a little extra money.

Edward Morse mentions seeing a mail carrier, dressed in virtually nothing and pulling his two-wheel mail cart at full speed, the while brandishing a pole from which streamed the Japanese flag. Since pullers of this sort worked in relays, said Morse, the mail was faster than if carried by horses.

On June 1, 1873, the postal authorities published the length of time required for letters to go from Tokyo to various destinations. The list was as follows:

Same day	Yokohama
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Second day	Tsuchiura, Urawa, Kawagoe, Odawara, Kisarazu, Kamura, Tochigi, Utsunomiya
Third day	Mito, Takasaki, Hamamatsu, Shizuoka, Kōfe,
Fourth day	Yokkaichi, Nagoya, Okazaki, Kasamatsu, Zenkōji, Fukushima, Taira
Fifth day	Hyōgo, Sakai, Uji-Yamada, Ōtsu, Matsumoto, Sendai, Wakamatsu, Yamagata, Yonezawa, Saikyo, Osaka
Sixth day	Nara, Mizusawa, Uozu, Kashiwazaki, Himeji, Wakayama
Seventh day	Morioka, Sakata, Akita, Tsuruga, Fukui, Kanazawa, Sado, Aikawa, Toyo'oka, Tsuyama, Tokushima, Okayama
Eighth day	Niigata, Tottori, Hiroshima, Takamatsu
Ninth day	Aomori, Shimane, Matsuyama, Kōchi, Kokura
Tenth day	Nagasaki, Hamada, Yamaguchi, Fukuoka, Saga
Eleventh day	Ōita, Kumamoto, Yatsushiro
Thirteenth day	Kagoshima
Fourteenth day	Tsushiro

During these early years, the police system was still not fully organized, and there was danger of robbers even on the chief highways. Mail carriers were attacked and their cargoes stolen. People were forbidden to send money or valuables in the mail, but the thefts continued, and several carriers were killed or wounded. Later, in lieu of a system of postal money orders, which had not yet been established, armed carriers were dispatched to carry shipments of money, and in January, 1874, all mail carriers were armed with rifles. Mail was not safe from robbers, however, until after it came to be transported by rail, and this was in most instances a good deal later, since the railway network did not spread nearly so rapidly as the postal network, nor did it penetrate so thoroughly into the highways and byways. In October, 1892, when the parcel post system was put into effect, the government had to buy more horses.

POSTAL FACILITIES AND VOLUME OF MAIL

Item	1871	1874	1877	1880	1883	1886	1889	1892	1895
Post Offices	180	3,245	3,717	4,633	5,313	4,029	3,582	3,674	3,692
Branch Post Offices	—	—	24	29	57	22	21	26	26
Mail-handling Offices	—	—	153	211	282	642	491	551	527
Post Boxes	158	437	904	3,116	24,595	24,442	26,051	34,920	38,022
Letters (1000 Standard Unit)	—	—	—	43,446	49,207	47,546	59,377	70,992	105,925
	565	16,732	31,713	—	—	—	—	—	—
Post-Cards	—	—	—	11,052	32,894	45,695	83,853	126,454	212,403
Newspapers & Magazines	—	2,629	4,257	8,962	15,226	16,016	27,067	52,178	79,709
Books	—	—	—	—	3,042	2,114	1,986	4,716	5,733

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Item	1871	1874	1877	1880	1883	1886	1889	1892	1895
Samples	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	251	510
	—	34	382	837	15	37	93	—	—
Agricultural Products & Seed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54	111
Registered Letters	—	268	688	1,414	2,177	2,657	3,280	3,203	4,553
Ordinary Routes (Unit <i>rt</i>)	421	8,669	9,091	11,843	13,726	11,830	11,204	11,531	11,615
Routes Railway Line (Unit mile)	—	38	65	76	172	339	1,068	1,788	2,192
Water Routes (Unit nautical mile)	57	2,973	9,832	14,521	14,895	14,233	12,826	16,406	26,075

Name	NUMBER OF TIMES TRAVERSED PER DAY PER ROUTE								
General line	1.6	1.4	1.6	2.0	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.7	2.9
Railway line	—	14.0	20.0	21.4	11.3	8.0	5.4	5.5	6.2
Transportation by water	2.5	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.5	2.7	0.6	0.4

The expansion of postal facilities up until 1895 is indicated in the above table:

As this table indicates, water routes made up from thirty to fifty per cent of the total length of the mail routes, which is what one would expect in an island country. On the other hand, though the mileage of rail routes was small, the average number of times they were traversed was quite large, and it is certain that the average number of items carried on each trip was much greater than in the other instances. It is clear, therefore, that as the railroads expanded they became the principal means of carrying mail. The following is a breakdown of the designated load for various types of land carriers in August, 1896:

(Unit: 1 *kan* = 8(1/2) 1 *bs.*)

Speed classification	Carried on Foot by One Man	Carried by Handcart		Carried by Stage-coach		Carried by Horse and Rider
		One Puller	Two Pullers	One Horse	Two Horses	
First Class	4	12	24	42	84	6
Second Class	4.5	13.5	27	48	96	7
Third Class	5	15	30	54	108	8

Among the types of mail sent, we might mention particularly postcards, which were of course unknown prior to the Meiji period, but which by 1887 constituted the largest single category of mail handled, a distinction they still hold. Picture postcards came into use around 1904 and were an immediate success, partially because the government printed quantities of them to

be sent to Japanese soldiers in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese war. Many people began to collect them, and it is said that the shops selling them replaced those that had sold woodblock prints in old Edo. After the Russo-Japanese war, companies making the cards reported that sales of cards bearing pictures of beautiful women fell off with the return of the troops, but that pictures of famous scenes of sights were holding up nicely. In 1906, postcards put out to commemorate the laying of the five thousandth mile of railroad tracks, as well as commemorative cards published by the Postal Bureau, were a great success, and in the same year the Tokyo-Yokohama Picture Postcards Exchange Society was founded. This group, we are told, controlled the market price of cards.

In 1909 and 1910 postcards designed for use as New Year's greetings were sold in large quantities, and the *Niroku Newspaper* for December 22, 1909, reported that since the following year was the year of the dog by the old calendar, approximately 1,450 types of greeting postcards bearing pictures of dogs had been put on sale. Railroad companies began putting out picture postcards showing scenes along their lines, and local boost clubs and exhibitions also made heavy use of the medium. In 1910, when an especially fine series of cards commemorating the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition was put on sale, police had to be alerted to control the mobs who thronged post offices to buy them.

As early as October 1, 1872, newspapers and magazines were given somewhat lower postage rates than usual, and in October 1889, this rate was cut to half that of ordinary mail, with the result that the number of journals handled in the mail immediately increased. This lowering of rates may well have had some connection with the completion of the Tōkaidō Railway Line in 1889 and the proposed opening of the National Diet in 1890.

b. The Telegraph

In 1854 Commodore Perry presented a telegraph set to the

shogunate and had a demonstration of it conducted, to the astonishment of Japanese officials. Afterward both the shogunate and the government of Satsuma attempted to advance their knowledge of the new device, and the Meiji government followed in their footsteps. In 1869 an English technician was invited to help set up a trial line between Tokyo and Yokohama, and on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month in the same year, telegraph service on this line was begun. The rate for sending messages was $1/4$ ryō of silver, which seems extremely high, but at least one contemporary, urging the extension of telegraph service to Osaka and other parts of the country, averred that this price was quite reasonable.

On the first day of the sixth month, 1870, the chancellery ordered that telegraph wires be extended to Nagasaki as quickly as possible, but despite this show of progress, telegraph facilities were still in the primitive stage. After the Tokyo-Yokohama line was opened, the wires went dead so often that mounted officials, clad in traditional kimono and *haori*, packing 2 swords each, and carrying umbrellas painted red inside, were stationed along the line to guard against mishaps. When the line failed, messages were relayed by these guards.

In the early years, many people regarded the telegraph as just one more wicked device developed by Christians. The use of black magic was implied, and one theory held that the wires were coated with the blood of unmarried women. Accordingly, there were instances in which the telegraph poles and wires that the government had gone to so much trouble to erect were torn down by frightened subjects, and in 1871, there were anti-telegraph riots in Hiroshima Prefecture. These were followed by similar disturbances in Fukushima in 1873 and in both Mie and Kumamoto in 1876, with the result that telegraph service was extended to these prefectures only with the greatest of difficulty.

Unfortunately, the telegraph was intrinsically more difficult to comprehend than the steam-driven train, and to make matters

worse in this early stage defective insulators often caused the telegraph wires to spark, thus lending credence to the various stories of magic. Many wild tales concerning the telegraph must have spread by word of mouth. According to the *Report on Life in the Meiji Period*, people in some districts believed that messages were rolled up very tightly and sent *through* the wires, and a number of persons were disappointed to find that letters or packages hung from the wires did not move off in the direction of their destination.

Thanks largely to the lack of public understanding, the total length of telegraph wires in 1871 was only 26 *ri* and the number of telegraph stations four. In the following year the figures were still only 34 *ri* and 18 station, but in 1873 the length of the lines increased rapidly to 1,099 *ri*, with a corresponding rise in the volume of messages. By 1877 there were 2,827 *ri* of wires and 68 stations, and in 1879 the figures were 3,842 *ri* and 112 stations. In 1880, the country was enjoying an industrial boom, and many private individuals offered to contribute money toward the establishment of a telegraph office in their vicinity. In August, 1881, the government created a system for building telegraph offices on these terms.

The first insulators used were inferior ones imported from foreign countries, but because of the many breakdowns caused by them, the government had porcelain makers in Arita and Imari experiment with new ones, and by 1875 a successful model was being produced on a large scale. The double insulators necessary for long-distance telegraphy are recorded to have improved substantially around 1883.

In May, 1885, a uniform system of telegraph rates was instituted, and in 1886 an office in charge of the nation's telegraph service was set up in the Postal Bureau. In 1888, telegraph offices were divided into three classes, like post offices, and provisions were made for handling telegrams at railway stations. The countryside was now punctuated with telegraph poles.

By the end of Meiji underwater cables were being laid, and government authorities were attempting to provide one telegraph office for every 5 square *ri* instead of the one for 7 that existed in 1909. Still, despite the remarkable spread of the telegraph, the users were still principally government officials or business concerns. The average man seldom sent a telegram except in the case of death or disaster, and most people trembled when they received one.

In December, 1906, newspapers were given special telegraph rates, and on September 1, 1908, these were greatly reduced. This step was a landmark in the development of the newspaper industry.

c. Telephones

The telephone was first brought to Japan in 1877. On December 21 of that year, at the invitation of the Ministry of Works, Alexander Graham Bell gave a demonstration of his invention at the Imperial Household Ministry, and the Ministry of Works immediately set about imitating the device. In June, 1878, the Ministry succeeded in making two telephones, and the instruments were put to use in government offices.

The first telephones made were very imperfect, and in August, 1883, it was necessary to remodel them, but after that year the number of telephones in operation increased greatly. Still, on July 13, 1888, the *Tokyo Nichinichi* reported that the telephone instruments in the various ministries and bureaus were quite faulty, and that due to the crossing of wires and other such difficulties, telephone messages were often heard by people for whose ears they had not been intended. Officials conveying secret messages, said the newspaper, were unable to make use of the telephone.

In the same year telephone wires were installed between the Ministry of Agriculture and Trade and the Ministry of Communication, between the offices of the Privy Council and various

ministries, and between the police station at Tomioka-monzen and the prison at Ishikawajima. Telephones were still unavailable to ordinary people, but in this year a long-distance telephone circuit was successfully tested between Shizuoka and Tokyo, and it was suggested that telephones be installed in towns that had no telegraph service so that people could call in their messages to the nearest telegraph office. Various plans for a nationwide telephone and telegraph network were discussed in the Ministry of Communication, and in 1890 it was decided that telephone exchanges should be operated by the government. In April of the same year regulations concerning the exchanges were published.

In the meantime an exchange was set up provisionally in the Nihombashi telegraph office, and telephones supplied to the Bankers' Hall, the Rice Merchants' Hall, and the Tokyo Stock Exchange at Kabuto-chō. While the new telephones were being tried, requests for installations were accepted and preparations were made to set up a permanent exchange for the city. Simultaneously young ladies were hired and trained to serve as telephone operations, each controlling one hundred lines. Provisions were made for round-the-clock telephone service.

In Osaka too, plans were laid for a telephone exchange, but though they called for only a modest three hundred telephone

TELEPHONE INSTALLATIONS IN THE MAJOR CITIES

Year	Number of Tel. Boxes	Number of Subscribers to Telephone Exchange	Breakdown of Subscribers by Area			
			Tokyo	Yokohama	Osaka	Kōbe
1890	16	344	275	69	—	—
1891	18	821	647	174	—	—
1892	20	1,504	1,032	257	141	74
1893	42	2,672	1,689	367	415	201
1894	24	2,843	1,739	417	451	236
1895	25	2,858	1,752	417	453	236
1896	25	3,232	2,032	506	455	239

subscribers, there were insufficient applications, and the first exchange in the Osaka-Kōbe region was not opened until 1892. Statistics concerning telephone installations in Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, and Kōbe during the 1890's are as mentioned above:

It is clear from this that two thirds of the telephones were located in Tokyo, where so many activities were centered, and that Osaka was surprisingly slow to take to the new device. On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that there were few important government offices in Osaka, and users there were mostly business people. A list of telephone subscriber in Osaka in 1895 contains 458 names and indicates that the principal users were banks, stock brokers, lawyers, druggists, textile firms and shipping concerns. There were also a few doctors, rice brokers, and dealers in foreign goods. One notes a curious scarcity of newspapers, hotels, and restaurants.

Despite remarkable strides made during the period of industrial expansion that followed the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, telephone service on a nationwide basis did not really develop until the Shōwa period. At the same time, however, railways, police stations, and post offices throughout the country were linked by telephone before the end of the Meiji period, and as early as 1902 there were country telephone exchanges. Naturally, in most rural villages the only telephone subscribers were government offices, schools, and post offices, and for many years such places provided telephone service for people in their vicinity. To be sure, many business concerns, large traders, and doctors in rural districts also had telephones, but primarily for business purposes. Only a sprinkling of the upper class had telephones in their homes.

In 1899 service between Tokyo and Osaka was instituted, but the rates were very high. In April, 1910, telephone regulations were partly revised, and rates were generally lowered, particularly for night calls. In the same year a proposal to give special rates to newspapers was discussed in the Diet and probably passed. In due time, though ordinary people had little direct connection

with the telephone in this period, the way was opened for them to derive countless indirect benefits from it.

Chapter Six

FAMILY LIFE

INTRODUCTION

Having discussed the various items that went together to make up the food, clothing, and housing of the Meiji period, we should now like to examine the part these commodities played in family life. To do this adequately, of course, would involve examining typical families all over the country, but this would be far beyond the scope of this book, even if the proper materials were available. We shall therefore limit ourselves to a discussion of a few case histories, in the hope that if they do not reveal the whole picture, they will at least cast a good of light on life in this period.

1. THE OKA FAMILY IN IWANO

The following discussion is based on four volumes of household accounts for the Meiji period in the possession of Oka Yoshishige of the village of Iwano, Hikawa County, Shimane Prefecture. We shall attempt to discern from these accounts how the economic life of the Oka family changed during Meiji. Needless to say, account books do not tell everything, but in this case they are the only concrete material available.

Until the early years of Meiji, the head of the Oka family was a village squire (*Shōya*). In 1881 he owned fields amounting to approximately .6 hectares and gardens amounting to .3

hectares. In addition he rented a very small amount of property to a tenant, but so little that he should be classed as a small owner-farmer rather than a landlord. At the same time his income was comparatively large for his class and he lived a life suitable to a village headman.

He planted 3.2 *to* of rice in his fields each year. Much of the garden area was devoted to cotton in the summer and barley or wheat in the winter. The cotton yield was about 135 pounds in 1895 and 280 pounds in 1897. Cotton was grown in this region until around 1905.

The Oka family employed a hired man and a hired woman. The former received ¥12.20 per year and the latter ¥5. The land owned by the family increased in size until in 1987 it measured more than one hectare, but afterward the family fortunes deteriorated, and the land was gradually sold. By the Taishō period the Oka had ventually no farm land.

In the following sections we have recorded the Oka's purchases of key items associated with the enlightenment.

(1) Oil for lights. No purchase of coal oil is mentioned in the Oka accounts for 1891, but the following entries appear:

Old Calendar Month	Day	Cost	Item
Intercalary 7	19	12.0 <i>sen</i>	Repair of oil lamp.
8	6	1.4 "	Cotton wicks.

Mr. Oka says that the first time an oil lamp with glass chimney was used in the village was in 1887 at a wedding celebration, and the Oka's lamp was therefore probably an earlier all-metal type. Though coal oil is not mentioned by name, there is an entry in the 1879 account for "3 *gō* of coal" costing 5.4 *sen* and since this would be only about a pint, it is clear that "coal" stands for "coal oil." The words were often confused in this period.

As for vegetable oil, the 1881 account mentions the following purchases:

Month	Day	Cost	Item
2	28	35.0 <i>sen</i>	1 <i>shō</i> , lighting oil 25 <i>shō</i> , seed oil
3	21	17.0	Candle
6	11	10.0	Gingelly oil, hair oil, Camellia oil
Intercalary	28	60.0	Oil
7	5	32.0	Lighting oil
	19	8.0	Liquid oil
8	21	14.6	Gingelly oil
10	11	20.0	Oil

In this area, where houses did not have hearths (*irori*), pine oil was burned in the dirt-floor room for light. The "lighting oil" in the chart, however, probably refers to paulownia oil, which was used in paper-covered lamps called *andon*. After coal oil was introduced, oil lamps were sometimes burned in the *andon* or on old-fashioned candle stands. Even in 1887, however, there is little mention of oil in the Oka accounts. An entry for the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month of that year mentions a purchase of "coal" for ¥1.07, and this may possibly mean a can of oil, but there is no way to be sure. It is also uncertain whether the amount mentioned would suffice to burn the lamp or lamps for a year or not. The amount of all kinds of lighting oil listed in the accounts is extremely small. The proper name for coal oil, incidentally, first appears in the books in the next year, 1888.

In 1891, oil was purchased in small quantities rather than by the can. In that age, oil vendors went about the countryside with vats of vegetable oils, but to buy coal oil the people of this village had to go to the town of Ōtsu, which was more than a mile away. Most people bought only one *shō* at a time. Middle and upper class families of the late Meiji usually bought

no more than one *to* at a time. Around 1887 the price of one *shō* varied between 1 *sen* and 15 *sen*, and in the late Meiji one *to* cost around 2 yen. In 1891, the Oka family purchased 9 *shō* of coal oil as against 5 *shō* of pawlownia oil for lighting. During the same time a few purchases of gingelly oil and other oils for use in cooking are recorded. About 53 *sen* per year went for candles, which probably cost around 1 *sen* apiece. About twenty-three of the candles were used for festival lanterns, so that only about thirty were available for ordinary use. Of these latter the majority were burned in lanterns carried along the street at night, rather than inside the houses. The following purchases connected with lamps are recorded in 1891:

Month	Day	Cost	Item
1	29	1.3 <i>sen</i>	Lamp chimney
4	2	5.0 "	"
9	17	1.0 "	Wick
11	22	15.0 "	Lamp
12	25	2.0 "	Lamp chimney

The fact that there are so few entries in a year's time suggests that the family used very few lamps.

In 1896 the Oka bought 6 *shō* of kerosene and 3 *shō* of paulownia oil at a total cost of about ¥1.30. During the same period they spent 18.2 *sen* on such items as wicks, lamp chimneys, metal parts for lamps, and a simple siphoning device to take oil from a can. To judge from this, the oil lamp had probably become the main source of artificial light inside the house, but the number of lamps in use must still have been quite small.

In 1909, aside from one purchased of a one-*to* can of coal oil for ¥2.02, these were eight smaller purchases, but the sale in the first month of the year of four empty oil cans at a price of 48 *sen* suggests that the yearly consumption had grown fairly large. Conversely, the amount of vegetable oils purchased

decreased greatly. Aside from 2 *shō* of sesame oil, probably used for cooking, only 5 *sen* were spent for vegetable oils of any kind. Clearly kerosene had come to play an important role as the source of lighting.

(2) Sugar

In 1881, sugar purchases were as follows:

Month	Day	Cost	Item
Intercalary 7	29	4.0 <i>sen</i>	Black sugar
8	6	15.0 "	One catty of sugar
11	23	10.0 "	White sugar, low grade
		Total: 39.0 "	

In 1887, the figures, while not specifying the amounts purchased, indicated that sugar consumption had increased.

Month	Day	Cost	Item
2	24	10.0 <i>sen</i>	Sugar
3	5	13.0 "	White sugar
5	4	10.0 "	"
7	4	6.0 "	One-half catty of sugar
7	22	3.0 "	White sugar, low grade
10	21	8.0 "	Sugar
		Total: 50.0 "	

In 1891, the total cost of sugar decreased. At the same time, the amount of ordinary sugar increased, but that of lower-grade white sugar was small, and no black sugar was mentioned at all. This was perhaps an inadvertant omission.

The figures for 1896 are as follows (See p. 264):

It appears from this that "snow-white" sugar was 15 *sen* per catty, low-grade white sugar 8.8 *sen*, and black sugar 8.8 *sen*.

The entry for 1909 is more complicated:

The meaning of the terms for the various types of sugar

JAPANESE LIFE AND CULTURE

Month	Day	Cost	Item
2	15	3.0 <i>sen</i>	Black sugar
4	23	2.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar
5	13	7.5 <i>¢</i>	One-half catty of "snow-white" sugar
6	23	3.0 <i>¢</i>	White sugar, low grade
10	18	7.5 <i>¢</i>	One-half catty of "snow-white" sugar
10	18	4.4 <i>¢</i>	One-half catty of low-grade white sugar
11	25	3.0 <i>¢</i>	Low-grade white sugar
12	7	4.4 <i>¢</i>	One-half catty of black Sugar
		Total: 34.8 <i>¢</i>	

Month	Day	Cost	Item
1	7	5.0 <i>sen</i>	Brown sugar
2	4	10.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar
4	13	36.0 <i>¢</i>	Two catties of sugar
	14	6.0 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar
	29	8.0 <i>¢</i>	Brown sugar
5	28	6.0 <i>¢</i>	One-half catty of black sugar
6	13	24.0 <i>¢</i>	One catty of brown sugar
7	26	10.0 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar
9	14	9.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>
	24	7.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>
10	28	28.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar
12	29	8.0 <i>¢</i>	One-half catty of brown sugar

mentioned above are uncertain today, and the translations may be somewhat mistaken. The "brown sugar" class is priced variously at 24, 18, and 16 *sen* per catty. This may be due either to fluctuations in the sugar market or to variations in quality within the category.

The prices recorded in the accounts remained fairly much the same except in the year 1881, when they were high, and the gradual increase in money spent for sugar therefore indicates

increased consumption thereof. The amount of sugar consumption is in a sense an index of the standard of living, and it would be interesting to compare the figures given above with those for an urban family but unfortunately the latter are not available.

(3) Miscellaneous items.

The Oka accounts contain a number of miscellaneous entries that indicate the degree to which the family was affected by the enlightenment.

In 1881 the family's farm implements were repaired, though there is no record of new purchases in this line. On the eighteenth day of the eleventh month there is an entry of 40 *sen* for medicine and on the twenty-first of the eleventh month a similar entry of 58 *sen*. The family generally relied on traveling salesmen for medicine, but a quantity of sodium carbonate purchased for 12 *sen* on the ninth day of the eleventh month probably came from a drugstore in Ōtsu. On the seventeenth day of the eighth month an expenditure of 30 *sen* for ricksha fare was recorded.

In 1887, 3.5 *sen* were spent for a horn and 1.7 *sen* for a book satchel for the children. A sum of 30 *sen* went for matches and noodles, but since the two are entered together, there is no way of determining the cost of the matches. An entry for the twenty-seventh of the sixth month lists 5 *sen* for a vaccination fee, vaccination having by this time become common throughout the country.

In 1891 there is an entry of 6 *sen* for the repair of a Western-style umbrella, another of 1.7 *sen* for matches, and another of 5 *sen* for postcards. In the same year 45 *sen* were spent on steamship fare and 19 *sen* on ricksha fare. A contribution of 34.9 *sen* was made toward the building of a police station, and contributions of 53 *sen* to the Institute for the Study of Japanese Classical Literature and 10 *sen* to the School of Japanese Learning are also listed. These latter gifts indicate that the family took an interest in the promotion of what was once called the

"Japanese spirit." This is significant because it shows that people in the provinces were taking part in the reaction against Western fashions.

(4) School expenses

In 1896 the two eldest sons in the Oka family were in primary school, and the accounts show a monthly fee of 11 *sen* for each boy. In this year a high school was established in Iwano, and the Oka contributed 50 *sen*. In addition 4 *sen* also went for what the account book calls a "school contribution," but it is not clear exactly what this was for. No expenditures for books other than 58.2 *sen* for school texts are recorded. The Oka family were among the village intelligentsia, but not a single book for adults appears in the accounts. Among other school items, there are entries of 5.5 *sen* for drawing paper, and 1 *sen* for pencils.

In 1907 the third daughter in the family finished her fourth year at the Matsue Women's Normal College and became a school teacher. This still left three children in school, and since the family was on the economic decline, school expenses must have been quite a problem. The third daughter partially supported herself in college, but even so in the first three months of 1907, the family sent her ¥12.20, while it is large considering that monthly living expenses for the remainder of the family were only about ¥35.

The Oka family expected much financial help from this daughter after she started working, and when she left for her new position they spent no less than ¥11.40 to buy her clothes and other necessities. Furthermore, on the day of her departure they gave her ¥5 for spending money. The young lady did not fail them. On April 14, after she had been working about a month, she sent home ¥8. In June she sent ¥20, in August ¥7, and in September ¥7. The fourth daughter, who started working as soon as she had finished primary school, also sent ¥2.20 in July and ¥1.30 in December.

The second son also became a teacher, and it appears that

he and his sister had considerable influence over the younger children. In the accounts for this year aside 23 *sen* for textbooks there were expenditures for several magazines. Other supplies purchased for the school-age children were a badge for a cap (3 *sen*), a red sports cap (7 *sen*), a visor for a hat (5 *sen*), a report-book (3 *sen*) and a memo book (4 *sen*). There were several girls in the family, and a number of entries have to do with face powder, soap, and other cosmetic, or with yarn or thread. The family also bought tooth powder.

In this year the money spent for steamship and ricksha fares came to ¥1.81, while railway fare amounted to ¥19. In the same year, incidentally, a railway was opened between nearby Shinji and the town of Matsue and in 1908, when it was extended to Imaichi in Izuma, a station was opened in the Oka's village.

During 1908 the Oka family spent a total of ¥2.60 on communications, including ¥.40 for two telegrams. The telegrams had to do with the death of the second son in Kagoshima, where he had gone to work. The total amount spent for communications represents a large increase over previous years, but it will be observed that families in farming villages of this sort still did not send telegrams except in very grave circumstances, such as this son's death.

In this year matches, which had hitherto been referred to in the accounts as "foreign lighting sticks" began to be called by their Western name, which is still in use. Twenty boxes (43 *sen*) were purchased during the year. Other unusual items in the account were a metal funnel (3 *sen*), thirty three-inch nails (1.5 *sen*), and the repair of not one, but two Western-style umbrellas. Something called by the usual word for "bread" was listed as having cost 3 *sen*. This was probably some sort of sweet roll used as a substitute for Japanese-style cakes.

Of two photographs listed, one was a picture of the third son made to commemorate his graduation from grammar school, and the other was a picture of the family. These various items all

indicate a rise in the living standard over 1896.

The four account books of course do not tell everything about the family's new way of life. By way of supplementing the information they give, we might note, for instance, that the first member of the family to adopt Western-style clothing was the eldest son, who began to use a school uniform when he went to middle school in Matsue in 1897. The second son wore a similar outfit in 1904 when he became a school teacher. Incidentally, the mayor of the village first began to wear a frock coat in the following year.

When the eldest son entered middle school he also bought a pair of shoes in Matsue and this became the first member of the family to wear foreign footgear. The second son bought a pocket watch in 1904.

Farmers were not quick to adopt Western clothes for working. Even after most of the young men from farms had served a time in the Army and become accustomed to uniforms—in fact even as late as the 1930's—farmers still clung to their traditional garb. By comparison, the village mayor and local dignitaries, along with boys in middle school or above, were very quick to take up foreign dress. This indicates, we might observe, that persons who advanced as far as middle school were held to be in a class with the mayor.

In 1892 the village primary school bought a new wall clock and sold its old one, which it had had for years, to the Oka family for ¥2.30. (At the time the price of rice was 8 *sen* per *shō*.) The clock was a fairly small octagonal one with no pendulum. A wall clock with a pendulum was first installed in the village government office around 1907. The Oka first bought an alarm clock in 1909, but by that time another family in the neighborhood already had a clock with a music box for an alarm.

The "drawing paper" in the accounts for 1896 was for pencil sketching, which had been introduced a few years before, and which the eldest Oka boy studied in school after 1892. In

1908 the third son saw his school teacher copying the cover picture on a Western book with colored chalk, and around the same time the third daughter was drawing water colors and other types of pictures as well at school. The third son was reading magazines sent him by his elder brother or borrowed by his elder sister, and he also borrowed books from time to time. Such things do not appear in the family accounts, but they indicate the important fact that young people in this family were growing up in an atmosphere that could very well help to qualify them as school teachers in later life. The families of old village squires were on the decline economically, but their young people were gradually fitting themselves for cultured work of one type or another.

2. THE TOMIZAWA FAMILY IN TAMA-MURA, TOKYO

The ancestors of the Tomizawa family of Tama-mura, Kitatama County, Tokyo, are said to have settled on the family property between 1592 and 1595. After 1598 they became the leading family of Renkō-ji Village, where they lived, and they continued to occupy this position throughout the Tokugawa period.

The information we have on the Tomizawa comes from a well-organized and comparatively detailed household account book kept by the head of the family, Tomizawa Chūemon. In 1872, when the system of small and large administrative wards was adopted, Renkō-ji became the small ward of Tamamura, and Chūemon was appointed ward leader. In 1878 he became a member of the Kanagawa Prefectural Assembly, and in 1888 when the system of cities, townships, and villages was adopted, he was chosen mayor of Tamamura. He was thus active in local administrative affairs.

The account book begins with the year 1870. At first Chūemon recorded daily purchases and added up the balance at the end of each month. After the eighth month of that year, how-

ever, neither the monthly nor the yearly totals appear.

In subsequent years, annual receipts and expenditures are divided into thirteen classes, namely sericulture, mutual financing association (*mujin*), building, spending money for mother, allotment to retainers, medical expenses, income, rice and grain, hire for houses, hire for day laborers, and loans. Of these "income," "rice and grain," and represent revenue, and most of the rest expenditure. Unfortunately, the totals are not given for each class, and there is no general account of expenditures. Furthermore, certain entries that seem to represent income are unclear. Consequently, it is impossible for us to give a complete picture of the Tomizawa family's finances. At the same time, however, the account books contain much valuable information which we shall attempt to analyze by subject below.

(1) Sericulture

It is not certain how much silk the Tomizawa family produced in 1870 or in what seasons it was produced, but the accounts show that mulberry amounting to 3.1 *ryō* of gold was sold on the sixth day of the fifth month, and that some time during the year more than 7 *ryō* worth of mulberry was bought, presumably for the summer silkworm season. These figures are fairly large for the time, since silkworm culture was still limited in Japan. It is interesting to note that the accounts even show an income of around 4 *ryō* from silk thread, which indicates that the family produced more than its own needs and sold the surplus.

(2) Oil and Lamps

Despite the proximity of Tamamura to Tokyo and Yokohama, in 1870 the Tomizawa family still did not have Western-style oil lamps, and as a consequence the 1870 accounts show no expenditures for kerosene. On the other hand, the family used at least 3,131 *to* (1 *to* = 3.97 gal.) of vegetable oil at a cost of approximately 17 *ryō*. The total expenditure for candles during the year was 2.9 *ryō*, and this probably meant around 350 candles, but the price of candles varied considerably, and this figure may

be mistaken. The accounts contain no mention of matches, and the family presumably did not use them.

(3) Food supplies

Several types of sugar are mentioned in the accounts, but it is impossible to identify them clearly. It appears that sum of about 3 *ryō* of gold was spent on sugar during the year, and that only about 1.5 *kin* (1 *kin*=16 ounces) of the sugar was white sugar. It is not certain where the sugar was bought, but later entries in the account indicate that the source was a store in Fuchū. There were four purchases of salt during the year:

Month	Day	Cost	Item
5	28	1800 cash	Salt, 4.5 <i>shō</i> (1 <i>shō</i> =48 gal)
7	10	300 "	Salt
	27	2 <i>ryō</i>	Salt, 3 large sacks
Intercalary 10	26	6 <i>bu</i> 3 <i>shu</i> 300 <i>mon</i> 26 <i>bu</i> 2 <i>shu</i>	Salt, 1 large sack

Since there is no reason to suppose that the large purchase in the last of the seventh month resulted from seasonal variations in need, one might assume that it was made at that time because the price was low. But whereas the price at this time was 3 *bu* 1 *shu* 100 *mon*, in the intercalary tenth month, it was still much lower. The salt market varied so in the Meiji period that it must have been difficult to judge when the price was really low. In all, the amount spent on salt was a little more than that spent on sugar. The "large sack" referred to in the account was a sack holding 5 *to*, or approximately 20 gallons, so that the total consumption appears to have been around 82 gallons.

The amount of grain consumed by the Tomizawa family is uncertain, but to judge from various related figures, it appears to have included about 5.6 *koku* of rice, 4.2 *koku* of barley, .8 *koku* of glutinous rice, and 2.5 *koku* of millet. It would be interesting to compare the cash value of the rice with that of

other food items, but the prices of all but the rice are uncertain, and the price of the rice itself varied greatly with the season. Assuming that one *to* (=3.97 gallons) was worth one *ryō*, which is probably a rather high estimate, the value of the rice consumed was 57 *ryō*.

Secondary foods included among other things pickles, bean curd, noodles, a wide variety of dried saltwater fish, and river fish such as eels and trout. The amount spent on all these was around 8 (1/2) *ryō*. It is not certain how many eggs were consumed, but the amount spent on eggs was 4.848 copper cash. There is no mention of meat other than food, but it appears from other material that the Tomizawa were fairly quick to add meat to their diet.

The Tomizawa purchased a fair quantity of vegetables, and this means that they did not farm on a large enough scale to supply their own needs in this respect. The following is a list of such purchases:

Month	Day	Cost	Item
1	22	200 cash	Dried gourd shavings
6	8	300 "	Eggplants
6	18	216 "	Kidney beans
6	18	200 "	Eggplants
7	7	500 "	Five white melons
9	23	1900 "	Eggplants
11	3	1 <i>shu</i> 24 <i>mon</i>	Beans
11	5	1 <i>shu</i>	Sealions
11	10	3 <i>bu</i> 400 <i>mon</i>	200 dried <i>daikon</i>
11	18	3 <i>shu</i>	Cortinellus shiitake Potatoes
11	27	3 <i>shu</i>	50 <i>daikon</i>
12	17	100 cash	<i>Kuki</i>
		500 "	<i>Kogashi</i>

In addition, the Tomizawa also bought miscellaneous items such as bean curd, parsley, chestnuts, vermicelli, and so on.

The only references to fruit of any sort in the account for 1890 occurred in the first and eleventh month when tangerines costing 300 cash and 200 cash respectively were purchased.

(4) Clothing

It is interesting to note that the cost of clothing and fabrics was often given in silver units, rather than in gold. The amount spent during the year was equivalent to approximately 30 *ryō* in gold.

(5) Paper

The Tomizawa used about seventy quires of writing paper during the year. In addition they purchased a small quantity of colored paper, presumably for use at a festival. Toilet paper was purchased only once during the year, at a cost of 300 cash. The total cost of paper for the year was approximately 4 *ryō*.

(6) Total expenditures

The main items consumed in 1870 and the approximate cost are summarized in the following chart:

Item	Value (in <i>ryō</i>)
Vegetable oil	17
Candles	2.9
Sugar	3
Salt	3.5
Fish	8.5
Eggs	1
Vegetables, bean curd, etc.	1.5
Clothing	30
Paper	4
Rice	57
(Total expenditures)	241

As can be seen, we have given a brief analysis of only about half the family's total expenditures for the year. While our discussion is incomplete however, it will serve as an index for measuring the development of the household's expenses in later years.

We should add that while the Tomizawa were among the people qualified to accept the new culture of the Meiji period, in 1870 they still purchased only a very small quantity of Western-style goods, notably camphor (400 cash), soap (1 *shu*), and nails. It is not known whether the nails were domestic or imported products.

The Tomizawa accounts for 1880 present a somewhat different picture. The family was now using oil lamps, though to what extent we cannot tell since only one small purchase of kerosene is noted. Often in this section of the records, payments are made to stores with no mention of the items purchased, and presumably the Tomizawa kept running accounts with a number of merchants. Specific purchases, therefore, are often concealed, and it is possible that this was the case with kerosene. It is clear from the books that the family's consumption of vegetable oil and candles decreased considerably.

Only a small increase is visible in the amount of sugar purchased, but here again it is possible that other purchases are concealed in the payments on accounts to stores. After 1896, when Formosa was occupied, the price of sugar dropped tremendously, but at this stage it was still very high. It is specifically stated in the accounts that one purchase of sugar was sent as a gift, and one suspects that the occasion was a very important one.

The types of food consumed by the Tomizawa did not change greatly between 1870 and 1880, but there was a large increase in the amount spent for eggs, the total sum in 1880 being ¥4.239. The price of eggs is listed as 9 *sen* each in one place and 8 *sen* each in another. Assuming that the latter was the usual price, the number of eggs purchased would be 529. It is probable that a good number of these were also sent as presents. There is no mention of meat in the 1880 accounts.

It is inconceivable that the Tomizawa family did not purchase sake during the year, but sake does not appear on the books, and we are forced to assume that it was bought on account,

the payments being entered under the name of a merchant. The account book does, however, list purchases of wine, which was certainly an imported article. Presumably Chūemon developed a taste for the foreign beverage when he began going to Yokohama for meetings of the prefectural assembly. Incidentally, the expenses incurred by Chūemon during a two-month stay in Yokohama for the assembly are recorded in the account book. They ran to ¥54.65, of which ¥25.42 was the hotel bill and ¥8.18 was the cost of a new *haori* and *hakama*.

In 1880, the amount of soap purchased by the family increased, but there were still only two purchases. Due to Chūemon's position as an assembly representative, the quantity of writing paper also increased, this time materially, and there were larger expenditures for nose paper and toilet paper.

A modern postal service was established in 1871, but few people used it before 1883, when the system was expanded and regularized. In this connection the 1880 accounts for the Tomizawas family contain the following entries.

Month	Day	Cost	Item
January	27	17.4 <i>sen</i>	Stamps
February	9	5.0 "	Mail
"	13	5.0 "	"
March	8	4.0 "	Mail (twice)
May	1	4.0 "	Postage for photograph sent to Mr. Kōno
July	23	20.0 "	Stamps
Total:		55.40 "	

The family probably used the mails more than average members of farming communities, and if it is clear from this account that they bought stamps in quantity rather than one or two at a time. Other entries show that on January 7, a sum of ¥2 was spent for a photograph—perhaps the one sent to Mr. Kōno.

In the 1880 accounts we first hear of expenditures for newspapers. In January a fee of 27.5 *sen* was paid to the *Chōya Newspaper* and another of 55 *sen* to an unidentified journal. The latter, as can be seen from later entries, was the *Hama Newspaper* of Yokohama. In February the sum of ¥1.10 went for these two papers, but in March only the *Hama Newspaper* (¥.60) is mentioned. In any event, it is clear that people were already subscribing to newspapers by the month. The *Hama Newspaper* was founded in 1868 and the *Chōya Newspaper* in 1873, but the Tomizawa do not seem to have begun subscribing until this comparatively late date.

At the same time the accounts make it that the Tomizawa, as members of the provincial intelligentsia were reading more and more. The sum of ¥6.38 was paid to the Watanabe Book Store in the course of this year. Unfortunately the names of the books purchased are not recorded.

On March 17, Chūemon went by train from Yokohama to Tokyo, and though he did not record the train fare, he listed ¥5 as the total cost of the trip, including the fare for buses and rickshas in both cities and the cost of resting for a while in a restaurant. One purpose of his trip seems to have been to buy a pump for his well, for which on March 28, he paid ¥3.50. On May 15, he recorded spending ¥3.75 on a shopping trip to Yokohama, which by this time was a modern bustling port. All in all, the Tomizawa seem to have acquired a number of new treasures on trips to the nearby cities. The entries for cloth and clothing during this year include references to muslin, calico, and other foreign fabrics. There is also an entry for carbolic acid, showing that with the progress of the enlightenment the Tomizawa family was becoming increasingly conscious of the need for sanitation.

In the accounts for 1890, we find that the passage of ten years brought about a drastic reduction in the consumption of vegetable oils. This must mean that kerosene took their place as lighting fuel, but there is still no mention of kerosene in the

books. The total amount of vegetable oil was 6 *shō* (1 *shō* = .47 gal.) purchased for ¥1.62. In March 12,66 *sen* were spent for something called "Western-style" candles, which were apparently candles made with fish oil. Otherwise there is mention of only one purchase of candles. On the other hand a sum of 78.2 *sen* was spent for lamp repair and wicks.

Postage expenses increased greatly, the total seem in this year being ¥12.155. Presumably Chūemon's current position as the first mayor of Tamamura entailed a good deal of correspondence. We also note the spending of two money orders at a total postage of 6 *sen* and the separate purchase of revenue stamps amounting to ¥4.51.

A new item in 1890 is the haircut, but since this is mentioned only twice, it does not appear that Chūemon availed himself of the barber shop very much. Very likely these two occasions came shortly after he cut his old-fashioned top-knot.

The books contain no mention of Western-style suits, but since they do note the purchase of one pair of shoes (¥2.30), a "collar ornament," and a "summer hat," one supposes that Chūemon wore a suit on some occasions. He owned a pocket watch, and the account mentions his spending 50 *sen* to have it repaired. Incidentally, there is also an entry for the repair of a "large timepiece," which was probably a wall clock.

Among other items connected with the "enlightenment," we note perfume (8 *sen*), soap (7.5 *sen*), and tooth brushes (4.5 *sen*). Medicines included eye-medicine (5 *sen*), magnesia (3 *sen*), and *korisayonihin* (calcium) (60 *sen*).

There is no mention of sugar, presumably because it was bought on account. There is still no mention of beef, but the purchase of ten chickens and a quantity of "chicken meat" accounted for ¥1.72. During the year, incidentally, the price for one chicken varied between 14.5 *sen* and 20 *sen*. A sum of ¥3.78 went for eggs. Assuming the cost to be .8 *sen* per egg, this would mean a total of 473.

Books purchased during the year indicate an interest in Chūe-

mon's part in traditional Japanese poetry, politics, and law, the last two being subjects which one would expect a member of the newly enfranchised country gentry to take an interest in.

By 1900, Chûemon was going to the barber shop much more frequently-sometimes even twice a month. The cost of a haircut and shave was 20 *sen*. It is not certain whether the barber shop was located in Chûemon's village or not.

In this year there were many purchases of chicken, and now instead of buying a whole chicken at once, the family usually purchased the meat as needed. "Chicken meat" is mentioned twenty-one times, as opposed to one purchase of a whole chicken and another purchase of four chickens, which were probably bought to raise. There is still no mention of other meat.

Postal expenses continued to increase, a total of ¥28.50 having been spent on stamps and postcards. On January 12, sixty postcards were purchased at once for ¥1.00 and on March 20, 100 stamps for ¥3.00. Sixteen packages were sent at a cost of ¥22.30. Other expenditures were:

Telegrams	¥ .20
Registered letters and money-orders	1.21
Revenue stamps	29.44

New items were handkerchiefs (¥1.05), cigars (¥.66), "volatile oil" (16.5 *sen*), shoeblack (7 *sen*), four sheets of opaque glass (11 *sen*), and so on. A sum of 26 *sen* was spent for lamp wicks.

In August and September, Chûemon's daughter, who suffered from an eye ailment went to Tokyo for treatment. The cost recorded for medicine was ¥12.30 and that for travel and incidental expenses was ¥12.25.

In April 21, an "Office for Carrying Out the Imperial Rescript (on Education)" was established at the primary school in Tamamura, and the Tomizawa contributed ¥5 to it. A sum of ¥3.90 went for an offering of chestnuts and pears to the crown prince, and a present of chestnuts and bamboo sprout was sent

to a man name Yamaguchi, who appears to have been head of a bureau in the Imperial Household Ministry. Apparently, the Tomizawa took their duties to the emperor seriously.

An outlay of 26 *sen* for the repair of what is called *jinsha* ("man-car") suggests that Chûemon owned a ricksha, but others entries throw doubt on this.

3. THE CASE OF THE TAKAGI FAMILY IN KUSANO VILLAGE, FUKUSHIMA PREFECTURE.

The family of Takagi Sei'ichi lived during the Meiji period in the Kita-Kamiya section of Kusano Village, Iwaki County, Fukushima Prefecture. During the Tokugawa period it had been the leading family in the district. Its economic life in the Meiji is revealed in two account books, one for 1890 and the other for 1903. According to the one for 1890, the family owned and cultivated 1.17 *chō* (1 *chō* = 2.45 acres) in rice fields and .38 *chō* in gardens. In addition, it owned 1.4 *chō* of forest territory and 1.5 *chō* given over to its house, plus one horse and five chickens.

It employed three persons as hired help, all of whom were what were called *mogami-mono*. That is to say, they were young men who had been brought from Yamagata to this area by middlemen and sold into service for from seven to ten yen, to be recorded only upon their conscription into the army.

The horse was used to carry burdens and was never made to pull a plow until after 1905. The produce of the Takagi farm was almost entirely grain (rice, 2 *koku* per *ton*, soybeans, 1.4 *koku*). There was only one planting per year. Vegetables produced in the garden were consumed at home. As a secondary occupation, the family made ropes for catching *takogame* and sold them at the seashore.

The Takagi were considered leaders in their community. In 1903 their land was still approximately the same as it had been in 1890, the only exception being that a small amount of new

garden land had been added.

(a) Oil and lamps.

In 1880 Takagi Sei'ichi's younger brother entered the fourth prefectural middle school of Fukushima. At night in his boarding house he studied by the light of an oil lamp, and every Saturday when he came home he preached the superiority of this new foreign device to the old-fashioned *andon*. Finally he brought a lamp home for the family to try. It was the first lamp to be seen in the district of Kamiya. The account entry is as follows:

Cost	Item
2.8 <i>sen</i>	Lamp
1.6 "	Coal oil
0.8 "	Matches

It turned out, however, that the family did not like the lamp and continued to use the *andon* instead. In 1887, when Sei'ichi's first son was born, they were still doing so, but in 1889, when the second son was born they were using an oil lamp, for it is recorded that the midwife in performing her task turned the lamp over and spilled oil all over the place, thus causing a dreadful stir.

On January 29, the account book registers the purchase of an oil lamp, but there were no purchases of kerosene until late April. Perhaps the family had some on hand to begin with, but at any rate the lamp must have been used only sparingly at first. After April, however, the quantity of kerosene purchased increased at a higher rate than that of vegetable oils. The figures for the year are as follows:

The growing purchases of kerosene in the latter months lead one to suspect that this year was the turning point, and if this is the case, the Takagi were slower than the families examined above to take to the oil lamp. Apparently in this area kerosene met with a good deal of resistance because of the fear that its unpleasant odor would offend the gods and Buddha. Matches

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Amount Spent on Kerosene (Quantity)			Amount Spent on Vegetable Oil (Quantity)
January			13.5 <i>sen</i>
March	27		10.5 "
April	1		2.0 "
April	7		2.0 "
April	17		3.4 "
April	26	1.9 <i>sen</i>	
May			4.2 "
May	13	6.0 "	
July		1.2 "	
July	2		11.0 "
August	14	3.8 " (3 <i>gō</i>)	
August	18	3.5 " (")	6.5 " (2½ <i>gō</i>)
August	26	3.2 " (")	
September	5	6.0 " (5 <i>gō</i>)	6.5 "
October	7	5.5 " (")	
October	16	5.0 "	
November	20	5.5 "	
December	10		2.8 "
December	14	1.6 "	
December	20		2.2 "
December	27	5.5 "	20.0 "
December			2.6 "
Total: 47.7			88.0

were slow to find acceptance for the same reason.

The price of kerosene seems to have been about 1.2 *sen* per *gō* (=0.4 gal.) or only about half the price of vegetable oil. It seems strange, therefore, that the latter remained in favor, until one recalls that unlike kerosene it was also used in cooking. In any event, kerosene, thanks to its low cost, soon replaced other oils as a source of light.

Lamps were of a crude metal type with no chimney. For marriages, funerals, and festivals special "big lamps" were used, but there were only three or four of these in the village.

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1890						1903					
Month	Day	Cost	Item	Month	Day	Cost	Item				
Jan.	17	15.8 <i>sen</i>	Sugar	Jan.	26	4.2 <i>sen</i>	Black sugar				
						8.2 <i>¢</i>	Sugar				
						11.5 <i>¢</i>	Sugar for a gift				
				Jan.	29	5.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar				
				<i>¢</i>		5.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				
				Feb.	23	7.2 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar				
Feb.	25	5.5 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar <i>kin.</i>								
April	23	2.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar	May	21	5.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar				
May	3	7.5 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar	June		10.5 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				
						10.5 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				
				July		5.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				
July	12	5.8 <i>¢</i>	Sugar, 1 <i>kin</i>	Aug.		4.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				
Aug.	2	3.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar		27	7.0 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar				
September	9	6.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar								
October	16	3.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>	Oct.	5	5.0 <i>¢</i>	Sugar				
November	20	6.0 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar	Nov.		5.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				
				<i>¢</i>		4.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				
December	10	3.0 <i>¢</i>	Black sugar	Dec.	24	10.0 <i>¢</i>	<i>¢</i>				

By 1903 kerosene lamps had almost entirely replaced the *andon*. The Takagi, who had previously bought kerosene only in small quantities were now buying by the four-gallon (i. e. one *to*) can, the price of such a can being given in the books as 152.5 *sen* in April and 168 *sen* on November 8 of this year. The amount spent for vegetable oil during this year was correspondingly smaller-only 76.3 *sen*, of which a good part, of course, went for cooking oil.

In neither 1890 nor 1903 did the Takagi spend much for candles. In the former year there was a purchase of ten for 4.5 *sen* on August 2, and in the latter year an outlay of 4 *sen* for an unspecified number, probably ten, on February 1. There is no mention of matches in either year, though purchases of *tsuke-gi* (sticks of wood or charcoal used to transfer fire from one place to another) are recorded.

(b) Sugar and salt

The amount of sugar purchased in 1890 and 1903 is listed (Look at the table on p. 283).

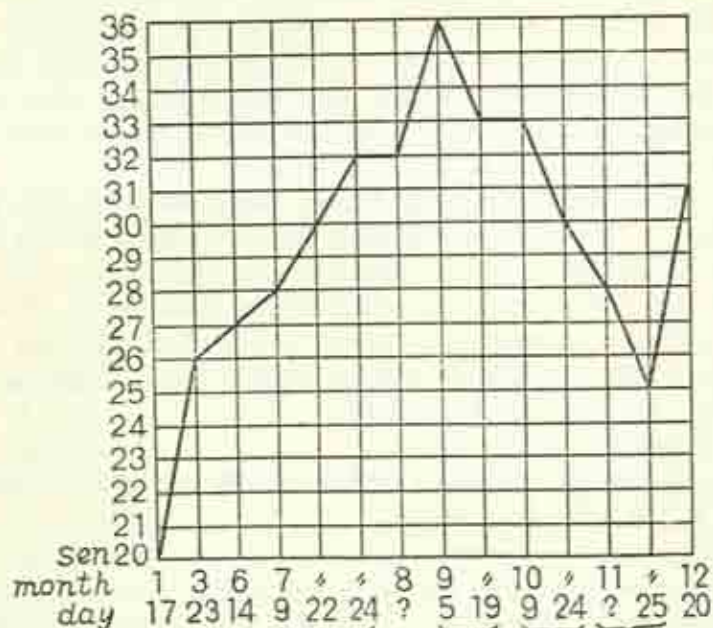
This appears to indicate a substantial increase over the years, but since the price paid for sugar in 1903 is uncertain, the actual quantities cannot be compared. We should note that ordinary sugar apparently cost more than "black sugar" in 1890, and that ordinary sugar was bought in much larger quantities in 1903.

In 1903 the Takagi family used far more salt than in 1890, and whereas in 1890 they had bought small quantities as needed, in 1903 they bought by the sack (a sack holding four *to*). The totals for the two years are:

1890	6.64 <i>to</i>	133.6 <i>sen</i>
1903	12 "	192.5 "

The price of salt varied a good deal from month to month. The fluctuations in the price per *shō* paid by the Takagi in

1890 are shown in the following graph.



Price of salt per *shō* in 1890 as seen in the household accounts of the Takagi family.

(c) Clothing

Broadly speaking, the main change revealed by the clothing accounts was that in 1890 no cotton goods were purchased, whereas in 1893 they were purchased in considerable quantity. The Takagi grew their own cotton until 1892, but afterward turned to cheap manufactured cotton textiles, as did most other Japanese farmers. This, of course, lessened their degree of self-sufficiency.

(d) New articles

Unfortunately, no figures are available concerning changes in

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farm equipment and management. As for household life, in 1890 the only really new article mentioned is a Western-style umbrella, but in 1903 the following entries appear:

Month	Day	Cost	Item
2	24	35 <i>sen</i>	Hat
4		13 <i>sen</i>	Hat
4	3	25 <i>sen</i>	Watch repair
6	3	29 <i>sen</i>	Undershirt
6	5	10 <i>sen</i>	Umbrella repair
6	14	14 <i>sen</i>	Umbrella repair

It is interesting to note that Western-style hats and undershirts were making their way to the farm. Other items seen in

EXPENDITURES OF THE TAKAGI FAMILY IN 1896

<i>Item</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Housing	¥ 12.00	0.10
Light and fuel	93.30	0.73
Food	19,55.55	15.86
Clothing	10,84.55	8.80
Implements	6,32.30	5.13
Management	3,39.00	2.75
Charity	87.70	0.71
Entertainment of guests	37,80.20	30.66
Taxes	28,49.50	23.11
Mutual Fund	1,21.50	0.99
Transportation, postage, & spending money	1,41.00	1.14
Payment of debts	9,83.20	7.79
Others	97.10	0.79
Undertain	1,53.60	1.25
Total:	123,27.40	100.00

the 1903 accounts but not in those for 1890 are two book purchases and the purchase of railway tickets.

(e) Total yearly expenses

The above mentioned charts (*See p. 285*) give the total money expenditures of the Takagi family for 1896 and 1903:

EXPENDITURE OF THE TAKAGI FAMILY IN 1903

<i>Item</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Housing	1,61.00 Yen	1.20%
Light and fuel	4,00.80 "	3.00
Food	21,40.10 "	16.01 "
Clothing	18,20.10 "	13.61 "
Implements	8,15.00 "	6.10 "
Management	9,45.10 "	7.08 "
Charity	2,09.70 "	1.57 "
Entertainment of guests	10,73.30 "	8.03 "
Taxes	42,71.50 "	31.90 "
Mutual Financing fund	10,86.90 "	8.13 "
Transportation postage spending money	41.00 "	0.31 "
Payment of debts	0 "	0.00 "
Education	3,40.00 "	2.54 "
Others	63.30 "	0.47 "
Total:	133,68.80 "	100.00 "

It would be entirely beyond the scope of this book to give a complete analysis of these charts, but attention should be called to a few outstanding features. For one thing, it will be observed that farm management was a relatively minor item. This was no doubt partly because most farm work was done by hand without the use of expensive new equipment and partly because the family still produced its own fertilizer. (chemical fertilizers were not used to any extent until around 1905.)

The increase in taxes from 23.11% of the total outlay in 1896 to 31.90 % in 1903 illustrates graphically the effect on the farming

OKA FAMILY'S EXPENDITURE LIST OF EACH YEAR

<i>Item</i>	1881	%	1887	%	1896	%	1909	%
Total:	287, 32.9		236, 69.9		224, 69.1		338, 07.8	
Housing	17, 19.1	5.98	9, 13.9	38.6	2, 43.0	1.08	7, 62.0	2.25
Light and fuel	8, 43.9	2.94	2, 86.0	1.21	9, 96.7	4.44	16, 33.9	4.83
Kerosene	0	—	1, 07.0	0.45	90.0	0.40	2, 67.7	0.79
Food	12, 57.2	4.38	5, 59.3	2.36	24, 02.1	10.69	94, 93.8	28.07
Principal	1, 65.0	0.57	40.5	0.17	20.0	0.09	64, 70.1	19.13
Secondary food	2, 88.6	1.00	4, 16.1	1.76	11, 83.6	5.26	16, 91.7	5.00
Seasoning	1, 24.5	0.43	78.7	0.33	3, 38.3	1.51	4, 77.5	1.41
Clothing	6, 18.7	2.15	84.3	0.36	16, 63.6	7.40	6, 52.7	13.76
Furniture	6, 45.3	2.25	1, 00.3	0.42	5, 23.3	2.33	6, 61.0	1.95
Management	12, 94.5	4.50	16, 99.4	7.18	22, 01.6	9.80	22, 83.9	6.75
Farming tools	1, 43.0	0.50	75.0	0.31	45.5	0.20	1, 90.0	0.56
Labor	10, 23.5	3.56	9, 91.0	3.33	20, 22.0	9.00	8, 93.6	2.64
Education	0	—	76.0	0.32	27, 86.3	12.40	1, 78.0	5.14

<i>Item</i>	1881	%	1887	%	1896	%	1909	%
Charity	4,07.2	1.42	4,05.9	1.71	1,77.0	0.79	2,83.5	0.84
Entertainment of guests	14,81.6	5.16	12,91.3	5.45	10,27.8	4.57	12,94.0	3.83
Transportation and postage	1,47.2	0.51	18.9	0.08	71.3	0.32	15,95.0	4.72
Amusements & Luxuries	1,16.2	0.40	56.0	0.24	5,58.3	2.48	12,86.5	3.80
Buying on credit	32,36.6	11.26	7,94.4	3.36	10,68.6	4.75	—	—
Loans & tip	24,38.6	8.49	30,83.8	13.03	25,67.4	11.43	—	—
Taxes	86,11.9	29.97	78,87.5	33.32	31,73.2	14.12	18,95.5	5.60
Tax advances	0	12	12,50.1	5.28	4,84.6	2.16	—	—
Payments of debts	15,00.0	5.22	22,28.5	9.42	12,12.0	5.39	55,56.0	16.43
Others	44,14.6	15.36	29,32.3	12.39	13,12.8	5.84	6,71.0	1.98

population of the military expansion program that followed the Three-Power Intervention in the Liaotung Affair. "Entertainment of guests" consisted primarily of the cost of weddings, funerals, and other such affairs that represented in the long run a system of exchanging gifts with others in the community. Such costs varied considerably from year to year, but in any case the average farmer considered them a heavy burden.

Only the cost of food purchased with money is given, but even so the expenditure for food constituted a fairly large per cent of the total.

For purposes of comparison with the Takagi family's expenses, we have listed below those of the Oka family (see above) for 1881, 1887, 1896 and 1909:

Again, it is impossible to analyze these figures completely here, and there are various unknowns that prevent a rigid comparison between the Oka and the Takagi accounts. We might note in passing, however, that the Oka expenditures for food increased from an insignificant amount to the largest single item in the budget, because the family ceased to farm. We might also observe that the annual taxes were highest when the family still belonged to the owner-cultivator class.

The average money expenditures of 443 farming families in 1944 are given below for reference.

The three families we have examined were all of the upper class in their respective communities. They were all relatively well off and were therefore comparatively quick to adopt the advantages of the new Meiji culture. Their children were able to attend higher schools and qualify themselves as leaders in the new society. The household finances of the average farmer would present a very different picture, for the average farmer was still remote Western culture in any form.

On the other hand, the upper-class farmers are important because they were the people who introduced Western culture to the provinces. As a rule, they belonged to old established families, and their fortunes improved after the Meiji restoration.

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<i>Item</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Food	¥153.84	14.09
Principal food	58.09	5.32
Secondary foods	67.66	6.20
Seasonings	28.12	2.57
Clothing	157.00	14.38
Housing	12.62	1.16
Furniture and Household belongings	60.69	5.56
Light and fuel	46.93	4.30
Luxuries	85.62	7.84
Insurance and Sanitation	93.02	8.52
Education	55.28	5.06
Amusements	34.88	3.19
Entertainment of guests	134.10	12.28
Marriages, funerals, etc.	95.21	8.72
Debts and Obligations	51.00	4.67
Others	111.76	10.23
Total:	1091.95	100.00

They joined the urban samurai and merchants as the new leaders of Japanese society. The gap between them and the average poor farmer was only increased by the new system.

Whatever its advantages, Western culture as imported in the Meiji period served to separate the upper classes from the lower classes in a way in which they had never before been separated. Western politics, Western economy, Western religion, Western thought, Western art, and Western social movements produced a class of politicians, capitalists, and intellectuals who had no connection with the common people. The Russo-Japanese war opened the eyes of the people, who under the conscription system fought this war themselves, to the world around them, but they were unable to overthrow the Meiji cultural structure. The leaders were too far ahead of them.

In one way, the lower classes were unable to escape the new

culture, for it destroyed their means of self-support. Industry moved from the home to the factory, and farmers sent their sons to become factory workers, miners, or soldiers. Often the young people introduced things Western their families, but they could not close the gap that lay between the leaders and the led. This gap remained as large as ever throughout World War I and later became the cause of farmer uprisings in the twenties. In a sense, it was connected with all the labor problems of the Taishō period.

Chapter Seven

NEW GROUP ACTIVITIES

1. CHANGES BROUGHT ON BY NATIONAL POLICY

AFTER two and a half centuries of isolation, the Japanese awoke as from a dream to find themselves faced with the necessity of founding a modern nation capable of resisting the incursions of Western capitalism. To do this, it was necessary not only to learn the scientific techniques of the West, but to accept the culture that had produced them and to encourage the growth of a capitalistic economy in Japan. Furthermore, all this had to be done in a hurry. The Meiji government, therefore, hacked furiously away at old customs and practices and at the same time labored to create a cultural and material civilization that would accord with European standards. The speed with which European scientific and cultural achievements were adopted into Japan indicates clearly that Japanese society was ripe for change, and that the conditions necessary for Westernization already existed, but it should never be forgotten that modernization was begun not because of popular demand but because the government willed that it should be so. To be sure, there were some who wished to sweep away all the customs of the past and to accept Western culture unconditionally, along with Western science. In practice, however, such extreme ideas met with considerable resistance. Some facets of the new life—certain conveniences never dreamed of in the feudal age, but now made possible by European science—

were adopted with alacrity, but others evoked antipathy. By a complicated process of accepting, rejecting, adopting, discarding, the life of the people gradually changed. Life, however, remained centered about the home, and, as we have seen, new clothing, new food, and new furnishings were rather slow to make their way into that stronghold. Still, the paraphernalia of Western culture was adopted virtually *in toto* in the new schools and factories, and those Japanese who studied or worked in these places gradually adopted new objects and new ideas into their domestic lives. In the following section we should like to examine specifically the changes wrought by the development of schools, factories, the army and navy, governmental bodies, and other institutions or organizations in which men functioned as members of a group.

a. Schools

The purpose of the Meiji school system was to provide an education for everyone, regardless of class or rank. Hitherto, schooling had been virtually confined to the warrior class, but on the second day of the eighth month, 1872, the government issued a proclamation stating that thenceforward there would be "no house in any village, no person in any house without learning." Previously a plan for the school system to be established had been submitted to the chancellery, and in the sixth month of the year the latter had issued an announcement to the effect that boys and girls should be given equal educational opportunities, and that those with ability should be encouraged to learn as much as possible.

In brief, then new school system was founded on such lofty ideals as equality for men and women, compulsory education for all subjects, and respect for individual freedom. Unfortunately, the time was not yet ripe for such lofty principles. The total annual budget for the Ministry of Education was only ¥800,000, of which ¥100,000 was earmarked for persons

pursuing their studies abroad, and the new system had, accordingly, to rely on funds collected from the people. The government was constantly urging the foundation of schools in the provinces, but because of the tremendous expense involved, average people tended to dislike the new school system. The monthly tuition fee for primary school students was 50 *sen*, and in an age when a *shō* of rice cost only 10 *sen*, this was quite a burden on lower-class samurai who had been deprived of their emoluments and ordinary farmers who were already struggling to make payments involved in the revised land tax system. Despite government support of education, therefore, the new school system was yet too far beyond the country's economic means to make headway in all provincial areas.

The system called for eight university districts, each divided into thirty-three middle-school districts, each of which was in turn divided into 210 primary-school districts. There was to be a primary school for each 600 persons (at the time the total population was 33,000,000). In all, the plan called for eight universities, 256 middle schools, and 53,760 primary schools.

The system was actually forced on the people by the government. Whatever happened, each designated district had to have its primary school. According to statistics of 1875, there were 34,225 new primary schools in all. In some places local officials and representatives absolutely insisted that it would not do to teach school in an old-style Japanese room, and that whatever the cost, a Western-style building, painted and equipped with chairs and desks, had to be built, but in places old-fashioned temple schools or private schools had to serve for a time as substitutes for public schools. We hear even of districts in which the local temple was turned into a school, with chairs and desks placed on the hitherto sacred *tatami*. In some cases the school children furnished their own chairs and desks. In Tokyo, on the other hand, six fine primary schools were erected in the style of large official buildings and painted blue, and these subsequently served as models for school buildings in

other parts of the country.

The school system was, then, a drain on village finances, and in a number of districts the discontent it caused combined with that caused by the new military conscription system to produce riots. When the riots quieted down, however, the construction of the local primary school often became a matter of pride to the local residents, and in many cases buildings costing more than they could well pay were erected, with the result that the community remained in debt for many years.

In 1890, after the establishment of the city-town-village system of local administration, a new system of local primary schools was instituted. In addition to the regular primary school, there were now to be higher primary schools as well. Cities, towns, and villages or groups of villages were to defray the cost of local schools and see to it that each person of school age finished regular primary school. The government's order gave detailed regulations concerning educational expenses, tuition fees, teacher personnel, and school management, as well as school buildings, school grounds, and equipment. School supervisors were appointed in the countries.

Needless to say, the standards set by the government were not attained overnight, but at least concrete aims were set forth, and provincial schools subsequently grew closer and closer to them. In places where several communities banded together to build schools, intercourse between formerly isolated villages was promoted, but there remained the problem of where the school was to be located and how, in the absence of good roads and bridges, school children were to commute back and forth to classes. In cities the rapid increase in population led to difficulties, and early as the late Meiji period a shortage of school buildings necessitated the creation of the two-shift system in some districts.

There was another reason for opposition to the school in farming areas; namely that the new schooling not only had no connection with the children's future work on the farm, but

indeed occupied them during the years when they ought to be learning farm tasks. It was the custom not only among farmers but among city merchants as well to send their children into service, and this was considered an important part of their training. Even in Tokyo it was generally held that if young people did not go to work by the time they were ten they would never make good workers, and it was difficult to find employment for a child past ten. Children who went into service during their early years were usually unable to go to school, and although resistance to the school system arising from matter of this sort caused no riots, it persisted for a long, long time.

At first the government paid little attention to the matter of practical training, but in 1893 it issued a law providing regulations for such education, and in 1899 it set up special trade schools in forestry, fishery, and, certain other fields. For women, schools specializing in sewing, nursing, and midwifery were established at the same time. The government trade schools were preceded by private trade schools, one of the first of which was a printing school established in 1878 by the Shūei-sha, printing establishment.

Schools for the poor were also established, at first more or less on the scale of the former temple schools. In 1897, for example, Semiya Ki'ichirō founded a small school at which both the amount of tuition fees and the hours of attendance were left up to the children and their parents. Such institutions could hope to do little more than teach people to read and write, but a similar school founded around the same time by the Hōzō-ji, a temple in Yotsuya, was raised to the level of a regular primary school in 1903. It charged no tuition and provided all school supplies for the students. Special schools for the poor were also established in the slums of Honjo, Fukagawa, and Shitaya.

Despite the remarkable development of the school system, in 1897 an examination of 22 factories employing more than 50

persons revealed that of a total of 15,680 persons, there were 4,329 children of school age. Among those of the latter less than ten years old 73 per cent had had no education whatever and the remainder had had a little, while the percentages for those less than fourteen were 40 per cent and 54 per cent respectively. In all, 94 per cent had failed to complete their compulsory education. Around the same time a survey of workers in textile mills revealed that half of them were unable to read. As for the children under ten who went into service, the nearest most of them got to school was taking their employers' children there. They were lucky if they managed to induce their employer or an older worker to teach them to read, write, and do sums on an abacus.

The percentage of persons attending school increased by leaps and bounds during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, and by the end of Meiji the published figures showed that almost all children of school age were finishing at least the required primary schooling. On the other hand, the published figures cannot be accepted unconditionally, for in 1918 a survey of workers in the Jōhoku factory of the Temman Weaving Company yielded the following statistics on school attendance:

	Men	Women
Persons who had not finished required primary schooling	95	444
Person who had finished required primary schooling	55	174
Persons who had finished higher primary schooling	53	6
Persons who had finished middle school	2	0
Total	205	624

Attendance in schools of higher learning was very limited. In 1870 students were sent from each feudal district to attend what is now Tokyo University. At the time samurai swords had not been abolished, and the new students all carried swords to class. None of them knew English or any other foreign

language, and since all the teachers were Europeans or Americans, the lectures had to be translated into Japanese by interpreters.

The old samurai spirit was still fairly much alive, and the college students of the time could probably not have been controlled by the highest officials in the government. They were a wayward lot, and at the same time they were extremely proud. If they detected anything rude in a foreign teacher's lecture, they were likely to jump up and draw their swords.

There were so few college graduates that those who did finish were virtually assured of a decent place in the government. At first few students wished to study law, since they associated it with the court pleaders of the Tokugawa period, but they soon found legal studies to be the gateway to an official career, and as a result many new law schools appeared. In 1878 and 1879 total of fifteen persons were graduated from the law school at the Imperial University. They included four from Tokyo, two from Kōchi, and one each from Ishikawa, Chiba, Okayama, Saitama, Shiga, Gumma, Yamaguchi, Ehime, and Aomori Prefectures. Among them there was only one who had not belonged to the samurai class. If the schools of letters, science, and medicine be added in, however, it appears that persons from all the prefectures were included in the graduating classes in these two years.

A good proportion of the graduates were the sons or younger brothers of high officials, but some came from the families of merchants and landowners who belonged to the rural upper class. Often people of means sent gifted sons of relatives or friends to college in Tokyo, and well-to-do residents frequently took college boys from the country into their homes as proteges. As a rule boys from samurai families who had been ruined by the Restoration had no such advantages, but many of them worked doggedly to succeed in school and restore their family's honor.

Students of limited means worked as newspaper boys, milk

deliverers, clerks, and even ricksha pullers to make their way through school, and a number of employment agencies catering to such young men sprang up. Biographies of Meiji leaders often tell of hardships suffered while acquiring an education, but for every person who bore up under them, there were probably more who fell victim to illness or for some other reason failed to make the grade.

A number of students stayed in dormitories, but the majority probably lived in boarding houses.

Actually, we are unable to discern just what the ratio was, since available statistics for the number of persons residing in the boarding houses include persons other than students, but at the same time do not include many students boarding in private houses. It is clear that a much larger percentage of women students lived in dormitories than in boarding houses, and this is, of course, exactly what one would expect, since most families would have been unwilling to allow their daughters the freedom of life in a boarding house.

In the districts of Kanda and Hongō in Tokyo, which after the Restoration rapidly became student districts, there was a very large number of boarding houses. After a certain point, however, Kanda began to develop into a thriving business center, and the boarding houses began to disappear. At the same time many lower officials and retail merchants in the area began to let one or two rooms of their houses to students, and quite a number of the latter showed a preference for such houses, where there was a semblance of home life missing in the professional boarding house.

In the student districts, there were many milk shops, and these served as gathering places for the young scholars. The proprietors encouraged the student trade by keeping files of official reports and newspapers. Toward the end of the Meiji period, the milk stores were replaced to some extent by cheap Western-style restaurants and cafes. In 1885 Tsubouchi Shōyō described typical student-houseboys swaggering down a Kanda

street as though they owned it and reminding people that despite their ragged clothes and worn-out hats they would some day be great men. Students liked to point out that the national councillors of the day had all been students once.

Such displays of bravado continued until the end of the Meiji period, but thanks to the fact that it was virtually impossible to attain a position of leadership without a college education there was an increasing number of persons who somehow managed to acquire one, and eventually there came a time when college students could no longer look forward to becoming councillors or anything of the sort. Toward the end of the Meiji period, the expansion of the national administrative structure and the capitalist system reached a plateau, and excellent positions ceased to be available to all college graduates.

The spread of schools gradually led to changes in clothing. In first primary school students wore kimonos as before, but later short cloth jackets were added to protest the kimonos, and by around 1900 kimonos with narrow sleeves came into wide use. Women teachers and students alike began to wear *hakama*, a form of loose pleated trousers, formerly worn only by men, and though for a time this was considered outrageous by many, the *hakama* gradually became part of the standard outfit for women at school or at work. To be sure, it was altered in form to some extent so as to be more suitable and becoming for feminine wear.

Ono Hana reports that around 1890 when she went to work as a teacher in a school in Shirakawa, Fukushima Prefecture she arrived on the scene in *hakama* only to be forbidden to wear it because of the criticism it evoked. Furthermore, she did not wear it again until 1896, when she was transferred to Taira. In Shirakawa during this interval women teachers and students wore regular kimonos with obis. Physical education was still not offered at the school (it was first instituted in Fukushima Prefecture in 1898), but there were sports matches, and on such occasions there was nothing for the women and

girls to do but tuck their skirts up under their heavy wide obis and run and play as best they could so clothed.

Western-style clothes were first worn in girls' schools around 1885, when they were adopted by teachers and pupils of the Tokyo Women's Normal School. This was probably also the beginning of school uniforms. In April, 1886, school uniforms along with school caps, were adopted by the Tokyo Imperial University, and the style gradually spread to schools on the lower levels, though not to primary schools. In the latter uniform caps were often adopted, particularly in cities and towns, but often only the badge of the school was fixed. In any event, primary school caps must have played a definite role in making youthful students aware that they belonged to the school group.

In primary schools pupils wrote with brushes on paper during examinations and in writing classes, but at other times they used slates or cheap substitutes for slates. After 1885 good slates were produced in quantity in Japan, and before very long virtually every school child owned one. As pencils came into use, slates were gradually abandoned, but the earliest pencils were very fragile, and pupils in the first two or three grades of primary school usually continued to use slates. Some shopkeepers also adopted slates for use in figuring their accounts.

Until around 1887, pencils were imported, but afterwards they were produced in great quantities in Japan. At first pupils used them only in drawing class and continued to take notes brush and ink in other classes, but as time went on the pencil and notebook replaced traditional materials. Pens and ink were used primarily by students in upper-level schools and at first only in writing English or other foreign languages.

Broadly speaking, school curricula during the Meiji included both traditional learning and Western science. Training in Western languages did not begin until middle school or above, and foreign teachers were likewise employed only at the higher levels. The farther a student progressed, the more he studied modern Western culture as taught in Western languages.

Consequently, higher-school students often became quite familiar with foreign tongues and contributed much to the advancement of Meiji culture. At the same time, there arose a tendency to judge people's educational qualifications by their proficiency in foreign languages, and this led to the appearance of a special social stratum composed of Japanese whose primary claim to distinction was that they could speak English, French, or German.

Although it stands to reason that the degree to which students introduced elements of Western culture to their homes increased with educational level they reached, this was not always the case, since most students in the higher schools lived away from home. The changes introduced through the influence of primary school must have been far more widespread, if not so deep. In any event, domestic life and domestic economy were greatly affected by the growth of the school system. Sometimes, we might add, the changes led to the disintegration of traditional family life and the founding of new households by the modernized youth.

As time went on the education authorities began to encourage extracurricular school activities such as group singing and sports became integral parts of the national education program, and thanks largely to this fact, sports and the enthusiasm therefor came to play an important part in the lives of the people as a whole.

b. The Army

In the eleventh month of 1872, an order establishing a conscripted army was issued, and military service, hitherto confined to the warrior class, was expanded to include in principle all able-bodied males. This measure in effect abolished the distinction between the military and agricultural classes of the previous. The conscription system, however, was not exactly what one could call egalitarian, since it exempted not only officials,

students in official professional schools, and men studying in foreign countries, but even ordinary persons who were able to pay ¥ 270 in lieu of service. In fact, then, the vast majority of men drafted into the army were from farms or poor urban families. The new system was aimed primarily of course at producing a modern, well-trained national army, but it should not be overlooked that it also offered at least a partial solution to the problems of excess population and unemployment.

Even prior to 1872, certain steps had been taken toward the formation of a new army. In 1870, for instance, the prefectures and feudal districts had been ordered to furnish five men for each 20,000 *koku* of rice in the local revenue, and in 1872 the districts of Satsuma, Chōchū, and Tosa had presented troops to the national military force. In the meantime, a number of samurai who had been in training under shogunate had been required to attend military school in Numazu, where no distinction accorded to their former rank. This sort of thing was a blow to the prestige of the former upper class, and they resented it bitterly.

The common people for their part resented the conscription law to the extent of staging riots against it all over the country during 1872 and 1873. One reason, it is said, was that the chancellery's promulgation spoke of military service as "blood-tax" which referred vaguely to the blood that one was supposed to shed for the country, but which was interpreted literally by the people. The people scented an increase in the burden they would have to bear, and the riots, which quieted down in 1873, were succeeded by widespread draft-dodging, as we would put it today. Those who could paid their way out of being conscripted, or entered schools, or accepted official posts. Others had themselves adopted or set up separate families. A few, finding no better alternative, went so far as to wound themselves or abscond from their residences. The number of persons who absconded increased annually until in 1889 it was no less than 35,600, or almost a tenth of the able-bodied males

elegible for conscription. In towns pamphlets on how to evade conscription were put on sale, and some people began to worship gods who were supposedly able to keep them out of the army.

Thanks partly to public opposition to the law, in 1882 the government abolished the original rules for exemption. Henceforward, officials had to serve their military terms, and payments in lieu of service were no longer accepted.

The first soldiers in the new army went through their Western-style training clad in narrow-sleeve kimonos and loose trousers. They still wore old-style topknots on their heads and carried swords in their obis. In 1875 uniform clothing regulations were published, and in 1886 there was a great reform from which everyone emerged wearing uniforms made of blue (for winter) or white (for summer) material and military caps. Ranks and outfits were indicated on the arms and shoulders of the jackets. In 1906, during the Russo-Japanese war, khaki uniforms were adopted.

Since not only uniforms, but underwear, socks, shoes, and so forth were furnished to the soldiers, military purchases led to the development of new clothing industries. Knitted socks, for example, were at first imported by the army and navy at a tremendous cost, but soon Japanese makers began to produce them, and military expenditures for socks were greatly reduced. Military demand also underlay the growth of the canning industry, as mentioned in an earlier chapter.

As for food, the principal item in the army diet was rice. In 1907 the daily allotment was 4 *gō* per day mixed with 2 *gō* of barley. The daily cost of secondary foods for non-commissioned officers and ordinary soldiers was 16 sen. The per capita consumption of white rice by the army was half again what it was in the case of ordinary civilians, and army practices in this respect no doubt led to increased general emphasis on rice as the principal Japanese food. At first the army gave its men pure white rice, but for that reason there were frequent cases of beriberi; in 1881, for instance, it is said that 237 men in

division in Tokyo suffered from it. Even before this, barley had been mixed with the rice fed to the Osaka division in order to combat the disease, and gradually the practice of mixing in barley spread throughout the army and navy.

Whereas the average yearly consumption of meat among the civilian population was about 1.73 pounds in 1907, the average for soldiers was 29.33 pounds, or approximately eighteen times as much. The situation was probably almost the same in the case of fish. In 1892 a poll of seventy-five men just inducted into the army revealed that 70 per cent of them considered army food better than what they were used to at home. It is said, furthermore, that boys from farm communities where the average diet was poor made especially good soldiers.

According to army regulations of 1899, the monthly salary for noncommissioned officers, superior privates, and ordinary privates was fixed at ¥ 1.80, ¥ 1.50, and ¥ 1.20 respectively. The ordinary privates were paid 40 sen every ten days, and by the time they had paid for socks, towels, soap, and toothpaste, there was very little left. Still, their greatest pleasure was to go out on liberty, and somehow they managed to frequent the bars and teachers in the cities. When on leave soldiers were cautioned to walk on the left side of the street, to stay on the sidewalk when there was one, and if in a group to form ranks and keep in step with the senior ranking person present. The walking habits of soldiers very likely caused many ordinary people to walk in a more orderly fashion.

When the conscription system was first instituted, many persons inducted into the army had never been to primary school. Every year new recruits came from out-of-the-way mountains and islands, where they had barely heard of modern science and culture. Some thought that the stove in the barracks was a sort of god, like the god of fire, and therefore made obeisance to it each morning. Others were under the impression that electric lights were lit with oil. The first barracks in Tokyo were set up in *nagaya* that had formerly housed the underlings

of daimyōs, but despite the traditional setting, they were equipped with beds for the soldiers. When Western-style quarters were completed, many of the soldiers from rural districts were completely bewildered by the equipment and furnishings. For a great number of men, army duty offered their first chance of approaching the new culture, visiting the cities, and becoming a part of the enlightenment movement. Many of them learned to read and write, and some developed the habit of keeping a diary. A few managed to put a little money away in postal savings accounts.

Some people considered army training to be good for the individual's character and maintained that the army made strong men out of weaklings, good workers out of lazy idlers, and so on. The average person would probably not have gone so far, but it was generally felt that induction into the military service marked a boy's coming of age. Things now had to be arranged so that a lad's year as an apprentice or helper came to an end when he became eligible for induction, and when he left the army he was considered a full-fledged adult. Most young men first learned to smoke and drink in the army; of the seventy-five new recruits mentioned above, only six smoked and only nine drank, but when they were discharged from service, 90 per cent drank and 80 per cent smoked. The custom of smoking cigarettes, incidentally, spread over the country largely because of the army.

Discipline in the army was exceedingly strict, and regulations as rigid as iron. Young soldiers of the lowest ranks were constantly exposed to the danger of cruel punishment for minor violations. Their time was regulated from morning to night, and they were made to live and behave as though they were machines. They even had to learn a special jargon, which did its part to separate them from outside society. To be sure, they were allowed leave or liberty from time to time, but when they returned from the outside world the old, machanical, isolated life of the army awaited them. It stifled their originality and

killed their initiative. They learned to obey by second nature. And as if this were not bad enough, it often happened that by the time an order issued from above had filtered down through army red tape it no longer had any real meaning. Furthermore, there were many superiors who having suffered in their early days in the army took their revenge on their subordinates. Thanks to these factors, there was a constant trickle of deserters, though of course never very many. After the Russo-Japanese war, discontent within the ranks was such that there were occasionally cases of group desertion. *The Heimin Newspaper* for March 10, 1907, for example reported that a senior-ranking soldier in a Hokkaidō camp had induced 36 other men to leave the base with him, and that they had all gone to a hotel where they drank and made merry until the next morning, when they were apprehended.

Incidents of this sort probably led only to stricter regulations. In 1910, we might observe, the *Niroku Newspaper* reported that suicides among army personnel were on the rise. The statistics were 75 suicides in 1900, 77 in 1901, 71 in 1902, 70 in 1903, 90 in 1904, and 92 in 1907. At the end of the Meiji period, the number of suicides amounted to ten per cent of the number of deaths through illness, and most of them were caused by mental derangement. A comparison of records in various countries indicates that the greatest number of suicides among military personnel around this time occurred in Austria, with Japan second.

Despite the many dark features of army life, there appears to have been another side of the picture. In 1880 Toyama Shōichi wrote that boys who had been all alone in farm villages learned after entering the army "to mix with many other soldiers and to go in groups jaunts through the cities." Their outlook was broadened, and they began to read books or magazines and write down ideas their own. Some grew familiar with controversial journals, and many more ceased to take much interest in digging potatoes back on the farm. Toyama claimed that

these new soldiers were vigorous supporters of the popular rights movement and individualism, and that they would fight for these ideals. Even allowing for exaggeration, it is indeed very likely that many soldiers were effected by the new thoughts of the age. The army could bind them up in a strict, inflexible organization, but it would not remove them wholly from Japanese society. Indeed, the severity of army life probably made their reaction to control by authorities that much the stronger.

In any event, it is certain that the army and the veterans' organizations, which expanded tremendously after the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, played a large part in the modernization of national life.

c. Government Offices

In 1871 the government began paying officials a certain amount of money each month, and though it is clear that at least part of the sum was converted into rice at the going rate prior to payment, this was nevertheless the beginning of the monthly salary system in Japan. In 1875 salaries of ministers and councillors, who were appointed directly by the emperor, ranged from a high of ¥ 800 to a low of ¥ 500, and even junior officials of the ninth grade were listed as receiving ¥ 50 per month. These figures are extremely high considering the fact that rice sold for only 10 *sen* per *shō*. In fact, the government did not pay the salaries listed, and there is evidence that at times it was unable to pay some officials anything, but in any event, the monthly salaries must have put a tremendous strain on national finances, which were none too stable in the first place.

In subsequent years the specified salaries were revised downward, and such devices as paying efficient workers more and inefficient ones less were tried. The salaries allotted, however, were not merely salaries, but allowances designed to allow them to live in a manner befitting their status as members of the

governmental organization. Ministry heads, we might point out, were for the large part former daimyō, and they could not be expected to live as ordinary people. When they left their houses offices for only a brief period, they had to be accompanied by a veritable parade of attendants in order to preserve their dignity and prestige. This was only natural in an age when servants were made to accompany schoolboys to school, and merchants were followed about by their chief flunkies. As a means of dazzling the public into obedience, the new government officials had to borrow the mask of decorum employed by the warrior class of the Tokugawa period, and this took money.

As the bureaucracy expanded and the number of officials who had to maintain face multiplied, the salary problem grew more serious, but the situation was improved to a large extent by the adoption of a new and less expensive pose, to wit, the Western manner. As Ōkuma Shigenobu is reputed to have pointed out, though the high officials of the early period were the ex-daimyōs, they were later joined by young men who had come up the hard way as student-houseboys. Many of these were Kyūshū people who had advanced in the world so rapidly that they were still without wives or proper houses. On the other hand even the servants in the imperial palace, who were often from the old *hatamoto* class, were able in those days to commute to their work in palanquins, attended by their own underlings, and to make a considerably better show than the parvenue officials. Under the circumstances, the newcomers, who in any case were not usually bound too strongly by traditional customs, must have found it simpler to employ new tactics, and in this way Western modes of conduct became the badge of their dignity.

At the very beginning of the Meiji period, officials were allowed to wear whatever they wished, but in the eleventh month of 1872 they were ordered to wear Western dress on formal occasions. By this time Western clothing had ceased to be a novelty in Tokyo, but it was still virtually unknown in the

provinces. One account has it that when a group of officials traveling to Kawagoe appeared on the streets of that city, "old and young gathered to look, just as people in Tokyo stared at foreigners ten years ago."

Another Western custom quickly adopted by the government was the seven-day week. At first government offices were closed every fifth day, which meant that there were six regular holidays per month, and since the traditional holidays were also observed, government employees ended up being at their work only 150 or 160 days per year. In November, 1873, however, the government ordered that officials were to take off only on Sundays, Saturday afternoons, and regular national holidays. Daily hours were fixed at from nine in the morning to four in the afternoon. The government was probably the first institution to employ the seven-days week in this fashion, but the practice gradually spread among the people.

A somewhat obscure, but important, innovation during this period was the adoption of Western bookkeeping by government bureaus. The voucher system is said to have been imported from abroad by Itō Hirobumi, and Shibusawa Ei'ichi introduced it in the Ministry of Finance. In 1874 Western-style account books were printed for government use. According to the *History of Osaka*, double-entry bookkeeping was first employed in the mint, whose accountants learned it from a Portuguese named V. Brage, and later adopted by the army and navy, the Bureau of Accounts, and the Government Printing Office. In February, 1878, the Ministry of Finance conducted a series of lectures in the use of double-entry accounting, and in July 1879, it was made mandatory in all government offices. In the meantime it was adopted by private banks as well.

In general, the government pioneered in the introduction of Western articles and Western industries. In 1877, when the first National Industrial Exposition was held, government officials had to go around and not only explain to the people what the exposition was to be, but assist them with the procedure for

entering their products. To gap in knowledge between government authorities, many of whom had traveled abroad, and the ordinary people was large indeed.

One result of this state was that government officials were accorded entirely too much importance. The average people bowed and scraped before them, and they themselves wallowed in their glory. Many of them considered the people as little more than animals. Signs in government-owned railway stations literally ordered the people about, and minor clerks at ticket windows addressed passengers as inferiors. Theoretically, officials were chosen for their learning and ability alone, but in fact most of them came from the upper class of the previous period.

In 1871, 87 per cent of the officials in the nine ministries of the central government were from the ex-samurai class, and in 1880 that class constituted not only 80 per cent of officialdom, both central and provincial, but the majority of policemen and school teachers. In short, the old distinction between the governing class and the governed was merely given a new form, and since in fact the officials did function as leaders and pioneers, the government continued to be exalted high above the common herd.

2. NEW PLACES TO WORK

a. The Development of New Types of Work

In tearing down the Tokugawa feudal system, the Meiji government was quick to relieve the warrior class of its permanent military duties and release the farmers from the land. In principle it recognized complete freedom of employment. Such being the case, the paternalistic guild system that had been in operation in trades and industries began to collapse. If the status of the individual was no longer to be fixed by law, the old relationships between bosses, underlings, and indentured laborers were bound sooner or later to break down.

The system of indentured laborers, however, did not disappear overnight. In general there were three stages. The first, which was that carried over from the former period, was the system whereby the laborer, ordinarily an apprentice, lived in his master's house, received his clothing and board, and was given a small amount of spending money in the New Year and *bon* seasons, when he was allowed to return home for a holiday. In return his work hours, his time off, and even the conditions under which he might leave and set up a house of his own were subject to the master's will. The master for his part saw that the laborer was housed, fed, and clothed and in addition set him up in a separate house after a number of years of service. In the new age, this system began little by little to give way. New holidays were added, and the period of service was arranged so that it ended when the laborer became eligible for conscription into the army. Sometimes he was allowed to take a wife and live separately, commuting to work. On the other hand, some masters forbade their laborers to engage in the same trade or to work in the same territory after setting up houses of their own.

The second stage was similar to the first in that the worker lived in his master's house. In this case, however, he was paid a salary. The third and final stage was the modern one in which the worker commuted to his job and received a salary. A number of businesses had their teen-age workers live in, but employed older workers on a regular salary basis. In this way they maintained a steady supply of workers trained from their early years, but avoided the expense of setting the "graduate" apprentices up in separate shops.

The first industries to employ the modern system of salaried workers were transport firms, warehouses, insurance companies, trading companies brokerages, and cotton or sugar companies—in other words, companies engaged in trading on a large scale. The working hours generally ranged from five to eight hours a day with Sundays and important holidays off (in some firms

there were only two or three fixed holidays each month). The workers were responsible for their own living expenses, including those for schooling, medical treatment, and amusements, although some companies furnished workers of the office-boy or apprentice class with clothing. Often workers were given bonuses once or twice a year. Severance pay, old-age allotment, pensions, life insurance plans, and so on came later.

For many years the three stages defined above existed side by side often in the same company, but the growth of large companies caused a general trend toward the third stage. The apprentice system with features of indentured labor persisted only in small or old-fashioned shops.

In the Tokugawa period artisans and day laborers of various types customarily worked under bosses, or, to use a more pleasant word, contractors. The latter assigned the workers as needed and were responsible for their upkeep. This system survived into the Meiji period, but was soon rendered obsolete by the modernization of industry. When the mining industry adopted the daily wage, for example, there ceased to be any reason for them to continue relying on contractors for their labor supply. In crafts not affected by modernization the contractor system persisted, but there were less and less chances for the apprentices who had become proficient in their trade to set themselves up as independent contractors, as had formerly been the practice. Often they were forced to work on subcontracts for large firms, and the same was more and more true of their former bosses.

In general the development of modern offices and factories, peopled with salaried workers, owed its greatest stimulus to the government, whose policy called for the encouragement and protection of new industries. These latter absorbed not only the graduates of the new colleges but most of the excess farm population and lower-ranking members of the samurai class.

The government, for its part, not only aided private industry, but actually established new factories and industries on its own,

particularly in fields connected with military expansion. Early examples of government factories were the Tokyo Munitions Works (taken over in 1868), the mint (established in 1868), the Osaka Munitions Works (taken over in 1870), the Yokosuka Shipbuilding Factory (taken over in 1868), the Nagasaki Shipbuilding Factory (taken over in 1868), and the Ishikawajima Shipbuilding Factory (taken over in 1876). Mines that had been controlled by the shogunate and its feudatories, were taken over by the government, though all privately operated mines were permitted to stay in business. In order to hasten the spread of imported scientific methods, the government also set up a number of model factories, among which the following outstanding.

Name		
Tomioka Thread Factory	Planned 1870	Opened 1872
Fukagawa Cement Factory	Established	1871
Printing Bureau	Began work	1872
Shinagawa Glass Factory	" "	1876
Shim-machi Spinning Mill	" "	1876
Senjū Weaving Mill	" "	1876
Fukagawa Fire Brick Factory	" "	1878
Aichi Spinning Mill	Planned	1878
Hiroshima Spinning Mill	"	1878

During the rationalization of currency and government finance that began in 1881, these mills or factories were sold to private businessmen or companies at very low cost, but though the government thus largely abandoned its own industrial activities, it continued to provide strong aid to private industry.

During the depression of 1881, many of the lower-class farmers were forced to become tenants, whereupon their daughters went to work for textile mills, and their sons drifted off to the factory districts, thus creating a large new labor force. After 1884 prosperity returned, and new enterprises sprang up in

rapid succession. The development of industry in this period is outlined below:

Year	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Commerce	Transport	Total
	N. O. C./Cap.	N. O. C./Cap.	N. O. C./Cap.	N. O. C./Cap.	N. O. C./Cap.
17	61 ¥1,235,000	379 5,048,000	654 8,989,000	204 6,892,000	1,298 22,163,000
21	204 ¥5,961,000	1,692 39,031,000	150 51,266,000	150 51,266,000	2,590 118,664,000
25	361 ¥2,746,000	2,764 69,061,071	1,071 30,547,000	319 94,745,000	4,507 198,746,000

N. O. C.=Number of Companies.

Cap.=Capital.

The growth of the textile industry was particularly rapid, with respect not only to capital but also to mechanization and modernization. The importation of foreign cotton goods had put an end to home production, and now the factory system was taking the place of the latter. In 1885, of the 53 Japanese factories using steam engines, 14 were cotton textile mills, 12 were rice refineries, and 12 were mining concerns.

According to a survey of factories published in 1902 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, in 1900 the total number of laborers was approximately 342,000, of whom 212,000, or roughly 60 per cent worked in textile mill. The 342,000 included 122,000 men, or only about 35 per cent, and 220,000 women. The women workers were for the most part daughters of desperate farmers. Their families had ordinarily borrowed money in advance against their salary and sent them out to work until they became brides. The men too were from farming families and were prone to go back and forth from the farms dependent on whether times were good or not. The number of jobs available in the rural districts was on the decline, however, and young people unable to attend higher schools were virtually forced to congregate in new factories. Those among

them who had no connections relied on employment agencies and labor-recruiters associated with particular businesses to find them work. As the demand for woman textile workers increased, factories began competing for their services. Recruiters at times enticed girls with sweet words and at others practically kidnapped them. In 1894 regulations on labor-recruiting and the management of employment agencies were published in the various prefectures, and toward the end of Meiji the Home Ministry granted money to the six principal cities for the foundation of public employment agencies, of which the first three were established in Tokyo in November, 1911, and another in Osaka in the following June. These were the earliest institutions of their type, but a similar agency had been established privately in 1906 by the Salvation Army. As it turned out, the percentage of laborers who availed themselves of the agencies' services was small, and hiring was carried on much in the same way as before.

The development of factory industry gave rise to child labor on a large scale, as indicated in the following chart, which gives statistics for cotton spinning factories in 1901.

NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE
WORKERS BY AGE

Age	Male	Female	Total	Percentage of Total Number of Workers
1—9	7	9	16	0.06
10—13	298	2,200	2,498	10.11
14—19	1,005	8,045	9,050	36.63
20 and over	4,057	9,090	13,147	53.20
Total:	5,368	19,344	24,712	100.00
Percentage	21.7	73.3	100	

The situation was even worse in handicraft industries, in particular the match industry, when, it is said, the majority of workers were fourteen or fifteen and many no more than seven

or eight.

As for hours, in weaving factories, which were managed largely as home industries, laborers worked from before dawn until ten or eleven at night. In spinning mills, which were the first factories to be mechanized, there were in principle two twelve-hour shifts daily, from six to six, with thirty minutes for lunch. Theoretically there were two fifteen-minute rest periods in each shift, but since the machines were not stopped, there was in reality no rest.

In short, working conditions, including dormitory facilities, were unspeakable. In a publication dated 1897, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce outlined the following evils in plant buildings:

1. Lack of proper ventilation
2. Lack of sufficient working room
3. Inadequate entrances and stairways
4. Inadequate passageways
5. Unsanitary dining halls, dressing rooms, bathrooms, and toilets
6. Lack of proper escape ventilators for harmful gases and smells
7. Use of harmful materials and insufficient precautions against them
8. Lack of proper disposal of dirt and dust
9. Careless construction and use of steam boilers
10. Lack of sufficient precautions against hazards arising from machinery.
11. Lack of protection from hazards around cranes, hoists, and elevators
12. Insufficient fire-fighting facilities
13. Lack of safety lights in factories operating at night

As a result of these conditions there were continual accidents, and many workers were victims of diseases of the pulmonary, digestive, and reproductive organs, as well as trachoma, beriberi, and arthritis. By far the most frequent ailment was tuberculosis,

sufferers from which went on sick leave and exposed many outsiders.

In an industrially retarded country, dependent on exports and maintaining a governmental policy of low wages, even the worst evils were not easily eliminated. Though many factory workers grew ill and returned disillusioned to the country, there were always replacements from among the urban poor and the surplus farm population. Working conditions were just as bad in mines and in the North Pacific fisheries. Sometimes the workrooms were so horrendous that the workers referred to them as "hell-rooms" and "prison-rooms."

b. Commuters and Dormitories for Workers

In factories such as textile mills where a high proportion of women was employed, those living in company dormitories were relatively numerous, particularly in the large-scale companies. From the company's point of view, the construction of dormitories meant that large numbers of workers could be recruited from distant locations. In 1901 a survey of nine weaving factories in the Kansai region yielded the following statistics on the number of commuters and the number of workers living in dormitories:

	Men	Women	Total	Percentage
Commuting	767	1,534	2,301	46
Living in Dormitories	232	3,060	3,292	54
Total	999	4,594	5,593	100

In 1903 the first tramways began operating in Tokyo, and since three tramway companies were competing with each other, the extension of tracks thereafter was quite rapid, with the result that there was a great increase in the number of commuters. Furthermore in 1909 the Yamate Railway Line began

operations, and since it ran through what were then the suburbs of Tokyo, it opened a path for many workers to move to low-rent areas and become commuters. At the same time, the absorption of nearby villages into the urban district of Tokyo brought a stream of commuters from farms to city factories. As pointed out in the chapter on transportation, by 1910 the rush-hours streetcars were deplorably crowded, and one supposes therefore that there never has been a time when there were sufficient cars in operation in the city.

In Osaka the opening of tramways and interurban railways led to a similar huge increase in the number of commuters. Figures are not available for the Meiji period, but in 1924, the number of commuters' passes with Osaka as a terminal was 69,110. A breakdown of this figure according to the occupations of the commuters is given below:

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Company and Shop Employees	26,938	38.96 %
Traders	10,214	14.78 %
Officials	3,469	5.02 %
Soldiers and Teachers	2,140	3.10 %
Laborers	2,771	4.01 %
Other Occupations and Unemployed	10,811	15.64 %
Students	12,767	18.47 %

Time	Average Number of Passengers	Average Number of Passengers Per Hour per Car
1st period (5 a. m.—7 a. m.)	11 (100 unit)	30
2nd " (7 a. m.—9 a. m.)	43	41
3rd " (9 a. m.—5 p. m.)	38	77
4th " (5 p. m.—8 p. m.)	43	86
5th " (8 p. m.—1 a. m.)	16	52

This indicates that the majority of commuters were salaried workers, and that only a small percentage of them were laborers. The total, incidentally, is about five times the total of 12,893 registered in 1916, only, eight years before.

The approximate number of passengers riding the Osaka city tramway daily in 1921 is indicated below:

In the ten years between 1913 and 1923, the number of passengers riding the early-morning cut-rate streetcars increased from an average of 22,649 daily to twice that number.

Most commuters lived relatively near their place of business. Aside from a few who lived in company houses, most of the householders among them rented tiny apartments in tenement-like houses. Those who were single lived in boarding houses and cheap hotels.

Given below are statistics pertaining to the standard of living of two actual laborers in 1897.

1. Lathe operator, 36 years of age

Family: Wife, 28, Child, 5.

Daily

Daily wage: 65 *sen*

Working hours: 10 hours per day, 25 days per month

Other income: None

Total monthly income: ¥ 16.25

Number of rooms in residence: 3

Monthly expenses

Rent:	¥ 3
Rice:	¥ 7.60
Firewood:	¥ 2.50
Vegetables:	¥ 1.50
Fish:	¥ 1.60
Sake:	¥ 1.00 (5 <i>shō</i>)
Bean paste and soy sauce:	¥ 0.50
Kerosene:	¥ 0.19
Hairdressing:	¥ 0.35
Bath:	¥ 0.30

Allowance for Child: ¥ 1.00

Miscellaneous: ¥ 3.00 (including ¥ 6.00 per year for *geta* or *zōri*)

Total outlay: ¥ 20.54 (not including miscellaneous expenses)

2. Finisher, 24 years of age

Family: Wife 20; father, 67; mother, 64;
child, 2.

Daily wage: 63 *sen*

Working hours: 10 hours per day, 26 days per month

Other income: None

Total monthly income: ¥ 16.38

Size of residence: 2 rooms (60 sq. ft. and 36 sq. ft.)

Monthly expenses:

Rent:	¥ 1.65
Rice:	¥ 7.00
Firewood:	¥ 1.50
Vegetables:	¥ 1.71
Fish:	¥ 1.80
Sake:	¥ 1.20
Bean paste and soy sauce:	¥ 1.40
Tobacco:	¥ 0.40
Meat stock:	¥ 0.75
Sugar:	¥ 0.20
Kerosene:	¥ 0.18
Hairdressing:	¥ 0.38
Bath:	¥ 1.00
Allowance per child:	¥ 0.30
Newspaper:	¥ 0.20
Paper:	¥ 0.15
Club dues:	¥ 0.20
Total outlay:	¥ 19.60

Both these men, it should be added, belonged to the relatively skilled number of steel works. In several other cases examined it is equally clear that expenses could not be met unless other

members of the family worked.

Conditions were worst among workers in match factories; The following is a contemporary description:

No. 3 Tachibana-chō, Kōbe, is occupied by match factory laborers and is perhaps the most notorious of slums. In one tenement there are usually ten or so apartments, each about six feet wide and twelve feet long. Inside there are three *tatami* (covering in all space approximately six feet by nine), and the remaining six-by-three-feet space has no floor.... Most of the families have a hearth, a brazier, a cooking pot, a boiler, a small tub, rice bowls, and such like. They rent their sleeping mats for about 2 *sen* per day per mat. A household of five or six makes do on two mats. The rent is about ¥ 2 per month, paid at the rate of from 6 *sen* to 8 *sen* per day;... In this neighborhood there is a store which sells left-over rice from army mess-halls. The inhabitants of this quarter eat this mixed with barley. The cost is 12 *sen* for 8(2/1) pounds.

In the case of textile mills, in addition to dormitories there were "designated boarding houses," that is to say boarding houses whose owners had made arrangements with the factory owner to house factory employees. Often the landlord was a labor-recruiter for the factory (and, it should be added, the personal guarantor of his tenants). The factory owner gave the landlord complete supervision of the employees.

These houses lacked much in the way of morals, for the simple reason that ten or more tenants, often both male and female, had to sleep together in room barely large enough for their sleeping mats. The food was about 30 per cent higher than in dormitories and poor in quality, but many women workers preferred the boarding house to the dormitory because of the relative freedom. The boarding house was also convenient in that it would usually lend money. Borrowed money, however, was taken out of the worker's wages, along with the rent, before the worker received his pay, and since the landlords

charged illegal rates of interest, the worker sometimes ended up receiving nothing at all. By and large, landlords would lend sums as large as ten or twenty yen to trustworthy workers, since that was one way of keeping them where they were.

Dormitories in large factories were walled in so as to keep the occupants from running away. In some instance they were located in the same compound as the factory, while in others they were joined to it by a bridge. In either case they were surrounded by fences eight or more feet high, on top of which there were often pickets or fragments of glass imbedded in cement.

Sleeping quarters in small household workshops also had their disadvantages. The following description is given in Hosoi Wakirō's *The Tragic History of Women Workers (Jokō Aishi)*:

In home workshops and factories, the word "dormitory" was used, but there was no real dormitory. "In really bad cases, (the girls) have to sleep on a wooden floor with only a thin straw mat spread on it. They have no closed in which to keep clothes, and the place is extremely dirty. Sometimes a part of the workshop or a storeroom cluttered with machine platforms is set aside for sleeping. Bedding is particularly dirty and unsanitary." (*quoted from Conditions among Workers*) Even in the dormitories at spinning mills, where facilities were comparatively good, workers were crowded into rooms with only one mat (approximately six by three feet) per person and one set of bedding for each two persons. These were no dormitories, but "places where there was barely enough room for the girls to lie down at night."

Factory dining rooms were either run directly by the company or entrusted to the hands of merchants, in which latter case the food was usually very poor. In large factories the workers were issued meal tickets either by the week or by the day. The cost of food for one person was from six to eight *sen* per day, of which the factory owner usually paid one or

two *sen*. Often the principal food was the poorest rice available, and the auxiliary foods consisted merely of boiled vegetables and bean paste soup, with a piece of dried or fresh fish once or twice a month.

In dormitories supervisors were stationed in each room to watch over the girls' conduct, clothing, and such like. The supervisors did not like for workers in their charge to stay away from for any reason, and they often made girls who were sick get up and go to their jobs. All letters sent or received by the girls were opened in the office, and in some instances letters critical of the company were confiscated.

Usually the girls were in principle allowed to outdoors for two or three hours after work, but they had to obtain permission slips, and girls who showed signs of being about to run away were confined even on holidays.

To guard against escape and possible immorality the dormitory doors were bolted at night, and in one instance thirty girls were burned to death in a fire at night because they could not get out of the dormitory.

In the Meiji period the materials needed to improve living conditions became available in much larger quantities. The industries necessary to build a modern state and the educational facilities required to train men to run the industries were established. The leaders of the nation built fine schools and created pleasant surroundings for themselves. They filled their homes with luxuries and the finer things of life. But the majority of the people, as soldiers or as factory girls were more often than not repressed and made to suffer. There were occasional parties, sports meets, and sightseeing trips to relieve the gloom, but these did not constitute improved living conditions. The hardships of the lower classes in the feudal period were replaced with new hardships. Happy women workers in government owned factories graced a number of woodblock prints in early Meiji, but these scenes did not tell everything, and the development of the capitalistic system inevitably created

a darker side of the picture. Soldiers usually were dismissed from the army after two or three years, and factory girls as a rule quit work when they married, so that however miserable they were, they could usually bear up for the necessary length of time. But what of the men with wives and families who had nothing to look forward to but slaving in the cruel urban sweatshops the rest of their lives? What were they to do?

The pioneers of the union movement were Shiro Tsunetarō and Sawada Han'nosuke, both of whom had visited the United States to study the American labor movement. Taking their pattern from the American Federation of Labor, in June 1897, they formed an organization called the Shokkō Giyū-kai (Society of Worker's Friends) and issued a manifesto calling for the overthrow of foreign capitalists who were "taking advantage of our low wages and hard work to make huge profits." Aside from attacking foreigners, the statement bemoaned the fact that whole families had to work as cheap laborers under cruel conditions and with no future security. It proposed the formation of an "Equal Riches Party" to fight for the elimination of economic inequality, but at the same time it warned against excessive zeal. Workers, it stated, should join together, assist each other in time of trouble, and attempt to expand the union to include the whole country. In sum, this was an appeal to organize trade unions all over the country, band them together by district, and thus create a comprehensive national labor union.

With this as a background, on June 25, 1897, at a labor lecture meeting in Kanda attended by 1200 workers, the sponsors proposed the formation of a general labor union, and 47 persons joined it on the spot. Known as the Rōdō Kumiai Kisei-kai, it quickly expanded, and in 1899 its members numbered 5700. Among its many activities, one of the most noteworthy was the formation of some fifteen cooperative stores in various cities all over the country. Under its guidance the Union of Steel Workers was organized in 1897, the Japan

Railway Reform Society in 1898, and the Union of Printers in 1899. The Union of Steel Workers had 5400 members and 42 local chapters while the Japan Railway Reform Society was composed of 1000 employees of the Japan Railway Company, and the Union Printers, of some three thousand printers in the five principal cities.

In addition, in 1899 Ōi Kentarō formed the Dai-Nihon Rōdō Kyōkai (Greater Japan Labor Society), which numbered among its aims the establishment of employment offices for both ordinary laborers and persons discharged from prison and the construction of workers' dormitories. In 1900, the Japan Iron-workers' Mutual Profit Society was formed for the purpose of encouraging workers to save, and in the same year Katayama Sen and Ozawa Benzō founded an organization for the construction of cooperative housing for laborers.

In 1900, however, the Diet passed a Police Act according to which anyone urging others to join movements aimed at higher wages or shorter hours could be prosecuted for disturbing the peaceful social order. Thanks to the passage of this act and the failure of the factory bill (*see below*) to be passed, many workers resigned from the Rōdō Kumiai Kisei-kai out of disappointment, and it was dissolved in the following year.

In 1898, the government had solicited opinions from businesses all over the country concerning a proposed factory bill, and the Rōdō Kumiai Kisei-kai had submitted suggestions to the following effect:

1. The bill should be enlarged to include factories employing five or more workers instead of fifty as in the government's draft.
2. The exception in the clause forbidding the employment of children under ten should be eliminated.
3. The exception in ten clause forbidding employers to require children under fourteen to work more than ten hours a day should be eliminated.
4. The clause providing for at least two holidays each month

should be altered to provide holidays every Sunday.

5. Instead of saying that employees of children under fourteen who have not finished their required schooling ought to provide them with considerable education, the bill should make this compulsory on the employers.
6. Rules concerning injuries in line of duty should be made more explicit.
7. Union members cannot employ workers who do not bear the certification of a guild.

The factory bill was not passed until 1910 and not put into effect until September 1, 1916. Even then a number of the important provisions were not enforced.

After the passage of the police law of 1900, the labor movement was forced underground, and there it remained during the years following the Russo-Japanese war, when Japanese capitalism went through one of its most remarkable eras of expansion. To be sure, there were occasional outbursts of resistance. In 1907, for example, troops had to be sent to quell labor disturbances at the Ashio Copper Mine, the Horonai Coal Mine in Hokkaidō, and the Besshi Copper Mine. In 1910, however, there occurred the so-called "Great Rebellion Incident," in which the anarchist Kōtoku Shūsei was accused and convicted of plotting to overthrow the imperial government, and not only labor unions, but social movements in general became the objects of vicious governmental attacks. The labor movement did not regain strength until 1919.

In sum, then, not three years after the appearance of Shiro's and Sawada's call to laborers, the Police Act was passed, and the labor movement was virtually stamped out. The cooperative stores, the mutual profits societies, the cooperative housing project, and the consumers' unions passed guilty into oblivion.

In the same year as the Police Act, the Industrial Union Law was enacted, but though consumers' unions began to be established under its provisions, they were mostly organized by officials under the guidance of the police. At the end of 1914,

only twenty-five of them existed. Whatever improvements in living conditions were due to Meiji capitalism, the pitiless suppression of laborers in this period was a black, black spot in the nation's history.

Chapter Eight

CITIES AND VILLAGES

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters we have discussed the manner in which things Western were imported and assimilated in Japan during the Meiji period. We have tried to outline the process whereby Western commodities were introduced into Japanese homes and working places and describe the various changes in everyday life that resulted. In the ensuing pages we would like to take up the transformation that occurred in community life.

We are not concerned here with the structural changes in towns and cities that resulted from "modernization." Rather, we propose to examine the conditions that led to the importation of new commodities and the changes that these latter caused in the general pattern of community life. Our focal point will be on the changes in the forms of cooperative existence produced by the adoption and absorption of new consumer's goods.

1. THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AMONG CITIES AND VILLAGES

The terms "city" and "village" are abstract, and it is often impossible to classify an actual community as one or the other. Even if one adopts rigid criteria for the classification, one is

usually unable to obtain the necessary data. In this section, we shall discuss "cities" and "villages" in the relatively concrete terms of population distribution.

Population figures for the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods are very incomplete, but available statistics give the following totals:

POPULATION OF JAPAN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Year	Number	Index
1804	25,621,000	100
1822	26,602,000	104
1828	27,201,000	106
1834	27,063,000	105
1846	26,907,000	105
1872	33,110,000	129
1874	33,625,000	131
1876	34,628,000	135

The apparent jump at the beginning of the Meiji period is usually considered to be a result of the incompleteness

Year	Number	Index
1872	34,806,000	100
1877	35,870,000	103
1882	37,259,000	107
1887	38,703,000	111
1892	40,508,000	116
1897	42,400,000	122
1902	44,964,000	130
1907	47,416,000	136
1912	50,577,000	145
1920	55,963,000	161
1940	73,114,000	210
1950	83,200,000	239

of earlier censuses. Many people failed to be included even in the early Meiji count.

Statistics for subsequent years were as follows:

The tremendous increase in the population during this period requires no further comment here. The question that concerns us is the division of the population between cities and smaller communities. There are almost no sources for the early Meiji period, but an 1878 survey of communities of more than 100 persons includes the following figures for towns of more than 10,000:

NUMBER OF LARGE COMMUNITIES IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS

Population District	10,000 —29,999	30,000 —49,999	50,000 —99,999	More than 100,000	Total
Hokkaidō	2	0	0	0	2
Northeast Honshū	8	2	1	0	11
Kantō	11	0	1	1	13
Central Honshū	23	2	1	2	28
Kyoto Area	17	2	1	2	22
Southern Honshū	4	3	1	0	8
Shikoku	6	1	0	0	7
Kyūshū	4	4	0	0	8
Total	75	14	5	5	99

Of the ninety-nine communities having a population of more than 10,000, only five had more than 100,000. These were Tokyo (670,000), Osaka (290,000), Kyoto (230,000), Nagoya (110,000), and Kanazawa (107,000). These were to be sure big cities, but by and large the population of the country was not heavily concentrated in urban centers. The other large communities were for the most part castle towns of the Tokugawa period, which were distributed fairly evenly around the country.

The growth of certain cities in the Tokugawa period was

quite pronounced, but it is important to note that it was explained in most cases by political conditions. To be sure, certain ports and stopping places along the main highways expanded as the result of increased economic interchange among the various districts, but with the exception of Osaka, no great cities developed purely because of increased commerce or manufacturing. The growth business and the migration of farmers to the cities were both subject to many governmental restraints. Too, the samurai and the merchants—i. e. the urban population—differed drastically from the agricultural population not only in status, but in working capacity, and the chances for the two to mingle together were very limited. Even in the cities, class distinctions were rigidly maintained, and the various urban districts were marked off as being for the use of samurai, ordinary townspeople, or religious institutions. In other words, the urban population was divided into distinct groups, and there was as yet nothing that could be called an "urban" way of life.

In the Meiji period, the artificial restraints on city growth were abolished, and there was a pronounced increase in industrial activity, but the economic stimuli toward centralization of the population were not especially quick to take effect. Of the ninety-nine communities counted above as having a population of more than 10,000, thirty-six were not castle towns, but the only ones that had shown any very remarkable development since the opening of the country were the ports of Hyōgo (33,000), Kōbe (11,000), Niigata (35,000), Yokohama (61,000), and Hakodate (31,000). The total population of the communities having more than 10,000 inhabitants was 3,416,317 or 9.6% of the total population.

In 1871, the feudal districts of the Tokugawa period were replaced by prefectures, but administrative districts in the provincial areas remained rather unstable until 1889, when the system of cities (*shi*), townships (*chō*), and villages (*son*) was adopted. The growth of the communities classed as cities is indicated in the following chart:

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION LIVING IN CITIES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Cities</i>	<i>Total Urban Population</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Population</i>
1890	41	4,126,336	10.3
1898	52	5,334,463	12.4
1903	60	6,809,744	14.9
1908	66	8,299,744	17.3
1913	69	8,999,264	17.5
1920	83	10,096,758	18.0
1930	109	15,444,300	24.0
1940	154	27,047,775	37.7

The distribution of the population according to the size of the communities was as follow:

<i>Size of community</i>	<i>1898</i>	<i>1903</i>	<i>1908</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1930</i>
1- 499	156,000	113,000	59,000	42,000	21,000
500- 999	564,000	392,000	276,000	238,000	207,000
1,000- 1,999	5,229,000	4,237,000	3,496,000	3,175,000	3,336,000
2,000- 4,999	24,541,000	25,148,000	24,275,000	24,345,000	22,120,000
5,000- 9,999	6,867,000	6,601,000	10,736,000	12,105,000	12,472,000
10,000-19,999	2,004,000	2,461,000	3,586,000	4,496,000	5,718,000
20,000-29,999	792,000	603,000	841,000	1,301,000	2,205,000
30,000-29,999	847,000	1,133,000	918,000	889,000	1,293,000
40,000-49,999	129,000	304,000	662,000	743,000	1,191,000
50,000-99,999	772,000	1,077,000	1,352,000	1,855,000	4,402,000
100,000- or more	3,497,000	4,469,000	5,636,000	5,937,000	11,481,000

The proportions of the total population represented by the figures in the above chart are indicated below:

There was a very large increase in the number of "cities" as well as in their population, but even at the end of the Meiji period, the urban population amounted to no more than 17.5%

of the total population, and it did not exceed 30% until after 1935. A similar phenomenon is evident in the distribution of communities of various sizes. There was a reduction in the

RATIO TO TOTAL POPULATION (Unit: 1/1000)

Size of community	1898	1903	1908	1913	1930
1- 499	3.5	2.3	1.1	0.8	0.3
500- 999	12.4	8.1	5.3	4.3	3.2
1,000- 1,999	115.2	87.3	67.6	57.6	51.8
2,000- 4,999	540.5	518.1	469.2	441.6	343.2
5,000- 9,999	151.3	177.2	207.5	219.6	193.5
10,000-19,999	44.1	50.7	69.3	81.6	88.7
20,000-29,999	17.3	12.4	16.3	23.6	34.2
30,000-39,999	18.7	23.3	17.8	16.1	20.1
40,000-49,999	2.8	6.3	12.8	13.5	18.5
50,000-99,999	17.0	22.2	26.1	33.6	68.3
100,000 or more	77.0	92.1	107.0	107.7	178.2

population of communities of less than 5,000 and a corresponding increase in that of cities of more than 50,000, but the combined population of cities of more than 20,000 increased only from 15% to 20% of the total population between 1903 and 1912.

While it is true, then, that the Meiji period witnessed a great rise in population accompanied by a tendency toward increased concentration, these trends were not pronounced until after the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5), and they did not reach a peak until the Taishō and Shōwa periods. In short, despite the growth of cities, a large majority of the Japanese still lived in smaller towns and villages throughout most of the Meiji period. The actual shift to the cities was only beginning when the period ended.

The changes in population distribution were governed by the peculiar conditions surrounding the Meiji Restoration and the formation of modern Japanese society. As has been pointed

out so many times, the greatest single cause of this revolutionary movement was the opening of Japan to foreign influences. The establishment of relations with foreign nations and particularly the opening of the country to foreign trade exposed the various weaknesses and inconsistencies of the overripe feudal system, and a political revolution was carried out before modern industry had developed sufficiently to serve as a basis for a modern society. The Meiji government devoted much of its energy to developing industry, often going so far as to try to force its growth, but while light industry more or less matured in the years prior to 1904, heavy industry did not really begin to develop until the Russo-Japanese war. In the first half of the Meiji period, then, industry did not advance beyond the infant stage, and as a result, modern urban centers did not really develop until somewhat later.

This fact is very important in connection with the introduction and spread of things Western, which in the early years of Meiji were known only in the cities. The material symbols of the "enlightenment" did, of course, spread from the cities to the rural districts, often with astonishing speed. Still, this movement was limited by them as yet only partially developed state of Japanese industry. Much of the rural population still lived and produced in much the same fashion as in ages past. At the end of the Meiji period, even the railway system was far from complete, and this fact is symbolic of the difficulty with which foreign commodities entered rural area. It is necessary to distinguish between the introduction of Western goods and the adoption of them into everyday life. In general, there were pronounced variations among various geographical districts. By and large, despite the vast changes in governmental structure, innovations from the West had little effect on daily consumption in rural areas in the former half of the Meiji period, and the real transformation of national life did not come until the Taishō period. This fact is underlined by the statistics on the growth of the urban population.

2. CHANGES IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE MERGER OF VILLAGES

The Tokugawa shogunate presented many aspects of a centralized government, but despite its rigid control over many phases of national life, the basic unit of government in the Tokugawa period was the feudal district, or, as it is sometimes called, the "daimiate." In effect, governmental authority was largely delegated to local rulers. As a result, while local administrative systems were mutually similar in many ways, they often had very pronounced regional characteristics. This was especially true in the domains of the so-called "outside lords," where in general the same family retained control throughout the period. In most instances these fiefs were located in the northeast, in Shikoku, in Kyūshū, or in other remote districts, and they often retained a more archaic form of government than the central regions.

The political significance of the Meiji Restoration is subject to a number of interpretations, but there can be no doubt that in a broad sense it was a movement to create a national state in the Western sense of the term. The revisions in provincial administrative structure that this involved played a large part in the subsequent development of community life, at least in its external aspects.

The Meiji system of provincial government was established around the same time that the Meiji national constitution was promulgated. Its final form, however, was arrived at only after considerable trial and error. The principal stages in the tangled history of its evolution are outlined below.

(1) The system of fiefs (*han*) prefectures (*ken*), and metropolitan prefectures (*fu*). In the intercalary fourth month of 1868, the government issued the following directive: The provinces will be divided into fiefs, prefectures, and metropolitan prefectures. Governors will be appointed in prefectures and

metropolitan prefectures, but for the time being the old system will remain in effect in the fiefs."

The new administrative units were established in the territory formerly controlled by the shogunate. At first there were 10 metropolitan and twenty-three ordinary prefectures, but by 1871, the numbers had changed to three and forty-five, respectively. There were 277 fiefs at first, but only 261 remained when the fiefs were abolished some years later.

2. Population registries and ward leaders

In the forth month of 1871 the following order was issued:

"A number of separate wards are to be delineated in each district, in accordance with local needs. In each ward a ward leader and an assistant will be appointed. They will have charge of recording the local population and changes therein. The number of ward leaders and assistants may vary according to local requirements. Heretofore the duties of the ward leader have been carried out by squires, elders, and members of well-known families in the various communities. From now on, the ward leaders need not necessarily be restricted to this group.

"Each ward will contain four or five townships (*chō*) or seven or eight villages (*son*), but the member may vary in accordance with local needs."

The interesting point about this order, which was no doubt designed in an attempt to keep track of population movements resulting from the current political upheaval, is that it provided administrative districts that transcended the ancient villages. In practice, it appears that the relation between the new ward leaders and the old village officials was vague, and a good deal of confusion and duplicated effort resulted, but at any rate, this was the first attempt to form new administrative areas over and above the ancient ones. The order was not enforced uniformly, but with appropriate revisions the wards established became administrative subdivisions in the system of cities, townships, and villages of later times.

3. The abolition of fiefs and the establishment of prefectures

This step, which was taken in the seventh month of 1871, laid the foundation for a unified system of local government. At first, three metropolitan prefectures and 306 ordinary prefectures were created, but by the end of the year the number of ordinary prefectures had been reduced to thirty-six. Afterward there were several additions and revisions, but in 1888, with the establishment of Kagawa Prefecture, the system was stabilized. Subsequently, there were three metropolitan prefectures and 43 ordinary prefectures.

4. The abolition of old village offices and the new system of ward leaders

In 1872, the chancellery abolished the traditional administrative offices in villages and established a new hierarchical system of ward leaders and assistant ward leaders appointed by the central government. This completed in form at least the system of wards begun in 1871. Thanks to the abolition of fiefs and the establishment of prefectures, however, confusion reigned in many localities, and several years passed before this new system for the smaller administrative units was implemented. Even then, despite the changes in nomenclature and the appointment of ward officials, the old towns and villages of which the wards were composed retained their identity to a large extent.

In smaller wards, an assistant ward leader was chosen from each of the former towns or villages, and one of the group served as ward leader. In effect, the village headmen of the past now became the ward officials and as a consequence were more or less recognized as representatives of the farmers. The government did not really attempt to absorb the old divisions into the new ones all at once, but instead gradually strengthened the office of the ward leader to the point where it could play its part in the new national system efficiently. In March, 1874, the government granted quasi-official status to the ward leaders and charged them with police duties in instances where there was no local constabulary.

5. The system of counties (*gun*), wards (*ku*), townships (*shō*), and villages (*son*). In July, 1878, the chancellery issued orders to the following effect:

a. Metropolitan and ordinary prefectures shall be subdivided into counties, wards, townships, and villages.

b. Counties, townships, and villages shall all retain their old names.

c. In the event that a traditional county is too large for efficient administration, it shall be divided into smaller counties.

d. The three metropolises, the five main ports, and other crowded areas shall each constitute a separate ward, or if necessary several wards.

e. In each county, a subprefect shall be appointed. In each ward, a ward leader shall be appointed. In the case of small counties, one subprefect may suffice for several counties.

f. A headman shall be appointed for each township and village. In cases where the communities are small, one headman may be appointed for several. Ward leaders may serve as headmen in towns or villages within their ward.

This order, which was issued along with regulations for the formation of prefectural assemblies and the collection of local taxes, was one of the mainstays of the new Meiji system of local government. Previous law had failed to do away with the old system of village government and had consequently created much confusion. Therefore, the central government, having strengthened its own position by quelling the Satsuma Rebellion, was now trying to consolidate the new provincial administration.

It will be observed that there was nothing really new about the proclamation. What happened, in effect, was that the larger wards (*ku*), were converted into counties (*gun*), and the smaller ones abandoned, while the older villages and townships were once again recognized as lower administrative units. In the

cities wards were created as counterparts to the smaller divisions in the provinces. The total number of administrative units was not materially affected. In 1868 there had been 65,771 villages in the nation, and in 1874 the number had increased to 79,600. In some areas there was a tendency for smaller communities to merge, but the number of villages remained around 58,000 throughout the second decade of Meiji. There was, however, a reduction in the number of local administrative offices, that is, the offices of local headmen. In the early stages, there were some 32,800 of these and even in 1883, around 29,710 were still functioning, but in the following year this number was summarily reduced to 13,981, and by 1888 it had fallen to 11,374. This means that local headmen were now being given jurisdiction over several villages or townships at once, and that even though the villages and townships continued to exist, they had in many cases ceased to have any function from the administrative point of view.

The system of 1878 was an attempt to adjust the new with the old. The traditional villages and townships retained their old names, but by gradually reducing the actual number of local headmen, the government strengthened its own new subdivisions (i. e., the counties) as instruments of national policy.

6. The creation of local assemblies and popular election of local headmen

The headmen appointed in 1871 had charge only of population registries, but after 1872 they took over most of the functions of the villages leaders of the past. As a rule, this meant that they were not only instruments of government policy, but in another sense representatives of the people. In August, 1878, the government recognized the right of local communities to choose their own leaders and in the same year it permitted the formation of local assemblies. This represented the beginning of local autonomy, but it is important to note that the new assemblies required the recognition of the Minister of Home Affairs and were subject to the command of prefectural governors.

Moreover, fiscal regulations promulgated at the same time provided that most property belonging to the old villages and townships be turned over to the prefecture, so that the smaller administrative units were deprived of their financial independence. Since they were also under the supervision of the newly created counties, it is obvious that the amount of autonomy granted them at this time was limited indeed.

In 1880, new rules for local assemblies were issued by the chancellery. Subsequently, the smaller details involved in forming and operating the organizations were left to the locality involved, but were subject to the approval of the prefect. The village or town assemblies were given the right to discuss public expenditures in their region and to organize larger meetings with others similar groups, but while it was the duty of the headman to carry out the assembly's decision, if he considered the decision unsuitable, he could postpone action and request a ruling from the prefect. Similarly the head of a county could stop any action by a village or town assembly if he deemed it illegal or inappropriate, and the prefect could not only postpone or forbid action, but dissolve the assembly, if he considered it advisable to do so.

The rules for local assemblies were revised in part in 1881 and 1882, and completely in 1885. Though specific regulations were given as to the privilege of voting and certain other matters, it was left to prefects to decide when the assemblies would meet, how many members were to be selected, how long they should serve, and so on.

Even before the government issued the first regulations for local assemblies, organizations of this type had appeared in various districts, and it is likely that the government's action was intended not so much to encourage public participation in administrative affairs as to avoid the danger of too much participation. The assemblies were closely connected with the rising popular rights movement, and without adequate supervision they might well have tended to express themselves too freely to suit

the government's purposes. The various regulations, therefore, were aimed at strengthening the position of the local headman and giving government officials firm powers of supervision.

After 1884 local headmen were appointed by the government instead of elected by the people, and around the same time the number of headmen's offices was drastically reduced, as mentioned before.

Broadly speaking, then, after some semblance of local autonomy had been granted, the government proceeded to tack on all sorts of restrictions in order to make sure that the "autonomous" organizations would serve as instruments of national policy. Specifically, the strengthening of the local headman's office and the expansion of its jurisdiction were attempts to weaken the hold of the villages and townships on the individuals. The new system virtually ignored the cooperative system that had traditionally operated in such communities. The discussions in local assemblies were more or less inevitably confined to questions concerning local application of national policy.

7. The system of cities (*shi*), towns (*chō*), and villages (*son*).

The Meiji pattern for local government was brought to completion in 1888 and 1889 with the establishment of a new system of cities, towns, and villages, which unlike the system of 1875 represented a thorough going break with the past. The new system was taken in connection with the establishment of a national cabinet in 1885 and the promised establishment of the National Diet in 1890. The guiding power behind the reform was the Home Minister Yamagata Aritomo, a member of the Satchō clique, whose purpose, by and large, was to prevent the rising popular rights movement from infiltrating local politics and causing instability after the Diet was established. As Yamagata himself put it, "In order to establish a constitutional government, we must create as its basis a system of self-government (in the towns and villages)." The various previous reforms had also been directed at the excesses of self-government, but they had been halfway measures. Yamagata now proposed a

thorough revision.

Four plans were submitted for the new system. The first, drafted in 1883 by Murata Yasushi, was a conservative synthesis of Japanese and Western law. While taking a modern view of legal person, it retained the old system of five-man associations. It was not accepted. The second plan, submitted in 1884 by a committee working under Yamagata, incorporated parts of the Murata proposals, but also contained new features. The third plan, drawn up in German by Albert Mosse, a German employe of the government, became the backbone of the system ultimately adopted, which is to be described below. The fourth plan, written by another German in the government's employ, was apparently never even considered.

In July, 1887, the Mosse plan was discussed and to some extent revised. (It was decided, for example, that the system for cities should be distinct from the towns and villages). The final proposal was then submitted to the elder statesmen, who after much argument accepted it in February, 1888. The bill was then put before an assembly of local officials concerned, and the latter, after expressing many doubts, advised that the system should be adopted tentatively for a year, but that thorough surveys of its effectiveness should be carried out and every attempts made to guard against "rashness, carelessness, complexities, and delays." Beginning in April, 1889, the system was gradually put into effect, but only after consultation with prefects involved.

The position of the government with respect to this law was expressed by Minister Arigata in his speech to the assembly of local official:

"The purpose of this bill is to establish the principles of self-government in the provinces and division of powers between the central and local governments. These principles are the foundation necessary to constitutional government in our nation. Towns and villages are made up of natural communities of people, and every single phase of government

concerns them. Before nationalizing the central administration, it is most urgent that we now set up a system of local self-government. To attempt to complete the organization of the central government without providing a system for the provinces would be to ignore the proper order of things. In order to strengthen the nation's foundations, we must first provide an organized form of self-government Two years have passed since the constitution was formulated, and it is imperative that we lose no time in establishing a local system. Looking back over the laws concerning local government, one notices particularly the Regulations for Prefectural Assemblies of 1878, the Law Concerning Ward, Town, and Village Assemblies of 1880, and finally the revision of the territories of headmen in 1884. Although since the enforcement of these measures provincial government has begun to take form in some places, the laws themselves represent no more than an attempt to rationalize the economy and the system of officials. The present proposal for a system of cities, townships, and villages is different. It is aimed at permitting autonomy in the provinces, and at insuring them a proper share of authority. In my opinion, the fact that the practice of self-government has never existed in this country must not prevent us from establishing a workable system, nourishing the spirit of self-government, and thereby insuring the perfect and harmonious functioning of national and local governments The most important, but the most difficult problem in setting up this system is that of ensuring that it suits actual conditions among the people in the various districts. The greatest care should be exercised in dealing with this matter, but it is already late, and I hope that this measure will be carried out at the earliest possible time Although there are also many features of this law that accord with old customs in this country, these may be districts in which the law raises difficulties. Under this system

of self-government, the people must come forward and take charge, but it is often difficult in towns and villages to find the proper men. Furthermore, although the people must bear the burden of paying for everything from the implementation of the laws to the carrying out of local cooperative projects, they are not always equal to the burden. The purpose of this law is to create men with the proper qualifications and to develop the economic resources. The opinion has been expressed that a system of self-government should not be instituted until after local economics have been perfected and the proper resources developed. This ministry believes however, that the opposite course is proper.

8. The Merging of Towns and Villages

Since the creation of new city, town, and village districts entailed the combining of existing units, it exerted a tremendous influence on community life. Until 1871 the smallest units in the provincial administrative structure were the towns and villages of the Tokugawa period. The wards established in 1871 represented an effort to enlarge the unit, but this led to difficulties, and in 1878 the wards were abandoned. In some places, there was a tendency for the smaller units to combine of their own accord, and in many others the reduction in number of headmen's offices created units that were in effect virtually the same as the wards, but in the latter case the old villages and towns continued to exist at least in name. The jumbled situation that resulted stood in the way of establishing a modern system, based as it was largely on German law.

The old towns and villages were closely knit cooperative bodies held together by long tradition as well as by mutual needs. The wards, on the other hand, were formal administrative units composed of groups of such communities, as were the *de facto* jurisdictional units created by the thinning out of the headmen's offices. These larger units were charged with school management, flood control, construction work, and various other

community projects involved in the new national policy, but even so the people as a rule cooperated only insofar as their old town or village was concerned. These old units were the result of varying historical factors, and they differed greatly in size and structure. Many contained only ten or twenty houses, while others had a thousand or more. Some had been virtually independent under the old feudal government, while others had been leagued together in various groupings. The mark of the local feudal administration to which they had belonged was upon them. In order to create a uniform and workable system of local self-government, the smaller, weaker units had to be eliminated.

The government therefore set up fixed standards for the new jurisdictional areas. When the old town or village was large, reasonably populous, and well-off economically, it was left as it was. The same was true in the case of smaller communities who especially desired to remain single units, and who seemed economically able to finance their own government. In other instances, however, the government, while to some extent taking local customs into consideration, set about organizing new units comprising as a rule the jurisdictional areas of the headmen's offices. Town and village assemblies were asked for their opinions, and after extensive surveys by prefectural governments a total of 70,000 old towns and villages were incorporated into new units, which for the most part still exist today. Whereas at the end of 1888 there were 37 wards, 12,002 townships, and 58,433 villages, in 1890 the number had changed to 42 cities and wards, 12,052 townships, and only 13,780 villages. This compares, incidentally, with 565 ward offices and 11,374 headmen's offices in 1888.

Often the mergers involved losses for one or more of the communities or violations of age-old custom, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that this measure required more resolution on the part of the government than the abolition of the old feudal districts. Still, though difficulties arose, they were

somewhat mitigated by the fact that the reform was not sudden. After all, virtually every law on the subject since 1871 had been directed toward this end.

In subsequent years, towns or villages occasionally merged in order to be recognized as larger units, but there were no large changes as far as the smaller divisions were concerned. The number of administrative units was as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Counties</i>	<i>Cities</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Villages</i>
1890	804	42	1,252	13,780
1892	804	43	1,296	13,782
1897	653	48	1,133	13,601
1902	638	60	1,101	12,386
1907	637	66	1,150	11,574
1912	637	69	1,220	11,093

In the case of Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, special rules were set up whereby local autonomy was curbed and the prefect appointed mayor as well, and these were not abolished until 1898. Later, in 1900, regulations concerning approval of municipal government policies by the competent government ministers were relaxed. Perhaps it would be most accurate, therefore, to say that the Meiji system of local administration did not attain its final form until the later year.

3. VILLAGE GOVERNMENT AND VILLAGE LIFE

In the following section we should like to discuss two or three changes in community life that occurred during the establishment of the new administrative system.

(1) Problems occasioned by the administrative reform.

The first problem to be observed is simply that it took half the Meiji period for the government's policy to crystallize, and the second is that the various revisions during this time were not based on a single long-term plan. The reform of 1871, for

example, was no more than a collection of partial reforms, and though the law of 1878 was somewhat better organized, there were still no general regulations for local communities, now was there any close connection between this law and the law governing town and village assemblies. In this transitional period the proclamations issued lacked consistency at one point, it was ordered that the old neighborhood associations be banded together in groups of five, but subsequently such groups played no part whatever in the local administrative structure.

A third problem was that whatever was said about local self-government, the system was established by order from above, and local autonomy existed only insofar as it served the ends of national policy. Questions concerning community life within the local organization were ignored, and even the people expected few changes in their community life as a result of the new system.

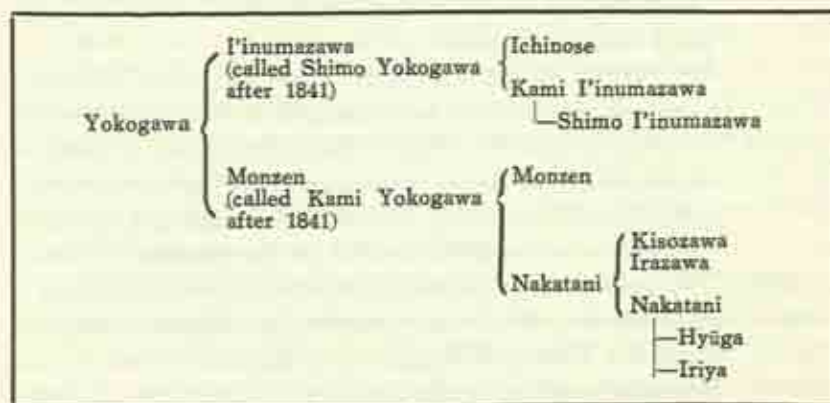
A fourth problem was that, Minister Yamagata to the contrary notwithstanding, it is doubtful that the law took old local customs and traditions into sufficient consideration. It was in many ways simply a translation of a modern European plan for local administration, and since the traditions of local self-government in Japan were different from those in Europe, this new system had little connection with the internal structure of the Japanese community. It could hardly serve as a modernizing agent for the existing self-governing bodies in the various communities.

A fifth problem was that local self-government was entrusted to new communities which had been hastily formed of two or more of the old villages or towns. To some extent these communities had been welded together by the various laws issued since the beginning of Meiji, but by and large they were as yet loose aggregations of smaller groups. They were not strongly enough founded themselves to serve as the foundation for a new system of self-government. In effect, their lack of unity greatly limited the scope of cooperative activity within

them.

Finally, the relation between the old village organization and the new one was not made clear. Perhaps this was only natural, since theoretically the old villages ceased to exist, but in fact they did exist, and furthermore they continued in many cases to handle questions concerning such things as community property, water supply, the assignment of places to fish, the management of festivals, and affairs concerning the local Buddhist temple. In brief, community life was organized around the old villages, and the new administrative units were for a long time no more than unstable collections of them. The internal organization of the administrative units was left to the people involved, so that it varied greatly from place to place, despite the appearance of uniformity in the system as set down on paper. The relation between the widely varied old villages and the new administrative organs was one of the most serious problems of the age.

(2) As an example, we have chosen the village of Kawashima in Kami-Ina County, Nagano Prefecture. Kawashima, which was formed in 1889, consisted of the old villages of Yokogawa and Kamishima, both of which had been in the Takazono fief, as well as several smaller villages. In the Tokugawa period the structure of this community was fairly complicated.



Yokogawa was the basic administrative unit as far as taxes, tribute, governmental decrees, and population registries were concerned, but it was in fact composed of two communities, I'numazawa and Monzen, each of which had its own village officials, and these two communities were further subdivided into smaller districts (*see diagram*).

In the late Tokugawa period taxes were collected separately from I'numazawa and Monzen, and to all intents and purposes most functions of government were delegated to the smallest component communities, so that in fact Yokogawa itself was an aggregation of small independent communities.

Kamishima included, aside from Kamishima proper, only one other community, Watarido, and was therefore simpler in structure than Yokogawa. In 1866 Kamishima and Watarido were separated into independent units.

After the Meiji Restoration the following developments took place:

- 1869 Takazano Fief returned to the imperial government
- 1871 Takazano Fief abolished and Chikuma Prefecture established in its stead.
- 1872 The 129th Ward of Chikuma Prefecture formed of Yokogawa, Lower Yokogawa, and Watarido. The 128th formed of Kamishima. Village administrative offices of the feudal period replaced by the offices of ward leader and assistant ward leader. Representatives of the people given charge of internal affairs in the smaller communities of the wards.
- 1875 Tatsuno (a nearby village), Kamishima, and Yokogawa combined to form the village of Misato. Smaller subdivisions classed as "farm areas," and put under the control of representatives of the people.
- 1878 The system of wards abolished and Kami-Ina County established. Area now known as Misato Village, Kami-Ina County Village. Headman's office opened.

- 1881 Village assembly established.
- 1882 Yokogawa, Kamishima, and Tatsuno divided into three separate villages. Office of headman established at Ichinose.
- 1885 Ono, Kamishima, and Kawashima combined to form a league of villages with a single headman's office at Ono.
- 1889 The league established in 1885 abolished. Yokogawa and Kamishima combined to form the village of Kawashima.
- 1889 Village administrative office established and governmental affairs entrusted to a village mayor and his assistants.

What interests us here is the function of the smaller subdivisions of the village. As indicated above, in 1875 these were recognized as administrative units (i. e., "farm areas"), but by 1878 such administrative functions as they had were being transferred to new and larger administrative units. As it happens, however, the smaller organizations, sanctioned as they were by tradition, continued to play an important role in ordinary affairs, and even after 1889, when the new village of Kawashima was formed, the seven "farm areas" of Kawakami, Monzen, Ichinose, I'inumazawa, lower I'inumazawa, Watarido, and Kamishima drew up their own community regulations and selected representatives to "farm area". On the other hand, these latter made no administrative decisions, but rather occupied themselves with the non-governmental affairs of the communities or with the implementation of orders issued from the new local government. Similar developments were to be observed in communities all over the country, although the outward form of the community organizations was often very different.

In effect, the new village administrative units functioned as the instruments of national policy, whereas the old village organizations were the actual units of local autonomy. The new villages acted as autonomous entities only when the action in question

concerned a number of the smaller communities of which they were composed. The government kept a watchful eye on the new village governments, but non-governmental affairs continued to be managed largely by the traditional communities.

(3) The economic role of the new villages

With regard to the consumption of goods and products, the principal importance of the new villages was that they served as funnels through which new commodities, particularly those of Western invention, entered the rural districts. This role fell to the new village governments because such commodities were first introduced into schools, administrative offices, and other new institutions over which they had jurisdiction. For example, any number of new items—glass windows, chairs, desks, pencils, ink, notebooks, and so on—entered rural communities by way of the new village schools. To be sure, the actual adoption of such products into rural homes did not come immediately, but we may be sure that by the Meiji thirties, when the proportion of school attendance rose to 90%, the influence of the schools in this respect was extremely great. Needless to say, facilities of a more public nature, such as fire-fighting equipment, health facilities, and paved roads, were also often introduced via media under the control of local governments. The general development of new ways of life was, of course, hastened largely by nationally controlled institutions, such as the constabulary, the postal system, the courts, the tax bureaus, and the public health services, but these worked hand with the village governments and were essentially part of the same governmental complex.

Private industrial organizations, notably farming societies and trade unions were as a rule organized around the new villages. After 1877, for example, local farmers' assemblies and seed exchange societies began to appear in various districts, and eventually, these were organized into national groups like the Greater Japan Agricultural Society (1881) and the All-Japan Agricultural Society (1894). In 1898 the national government passed an Agricultural Society Law and not only recognized the local farming

societies as legal entities but instituted means of providing them with financial assistance. The agricultural societies did much to improve farming methods and increase farm production.

The national government strongly supported the development of local industrial and agricultural exhibits, and these too were orientated around the new villages. We might note in particular that the National Industrial Exhibitions, of which five were held in the Meiji period, inspired the organization of many local exhibitions at which entries to the national conclave were selected. These exhibitions, along with the planning and preparation that went into them, did much to promote agricultural and industrial activity in the provinces.

Another new aspect of rural life was the formation of a wide variety of trade unions, in particular sellers' unions. Farmers engaged in sericulture, for example, organized unions in many localities for the purpose of improving products and eliminating unfair practices among the middlemen to whom they sold their products. Similar unions were common among the tea growers of Shizuoka and other centers of tea production. Buyers' unions were organized in many districts in the late 1880's usually for the primary purpose of purchasing fertilizer in quantity for the members.

The government supported the growth of cooperative unions to the extent of sending Shinagawa Yajirō and Hirata Tōsuke to Germany to study the system of credit unions there. A bill for the organization of credit unions was sent to the second session of Diet in 1891, but perished when the session was adjourned. Still the government's encouragement had considerable influence. After 1892 credit associations developed in Shizuoka, Yamagata, and Tochigi Prefectures, whence they gradually spread throughout the country.

The growth of cooperative unions prior to the passage of the Industrial Union Law of 1900 is indicated in the following table:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Associations</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>Assets</i>
Credit Associations	1896	101	18,749	412,616 yen
	1898	144	21,654	922,396 "
Raw Material Association	1896	21	4,459	15,956 "
	1898	39	8,733	3,016 "
Production Association	1896	8	691	— "
	1898	14	1,068	2,000 "
Implement Users' Associations	1896	9	366	— "
	1898	8	352	— "
Sellers' Associations	1896	80	11,568	23,916 "
	1898	141	32,561	40,729 "
Total:	1896	219	35,833	452,589 "
	1898	346	64,368	968,141 "

One difficulty was that in the latter part of Meiji there were so many new organizations that most farmers had neither the time nor the inclination to take part in them. To make matters worse, the new group were minutely regulated by officials who had little understanding of autonomous unions among the common people. The organizations, as a result, tended to put blind trust in officials and to lose their initiative. Often they became tools of ambitious individuals and devoted themselves primarily to the support of new enterprises for influential members of the local population. The sheer number of the new groups hindered their development.

Those cooperative associations which were intimately connected with everyday life and work found it expedient to establish units in the old villages, but this development was not pronounced until the Taishō period. Despite their flaws, the new organizations played an important part in introducing new ways of life and new means of production into rural areas. Furthermore they often worked to protect particular localities against

unsuitable measures taken by the central government.

The various new elements introduced through the medium of the new villages were not often quick to filter into ordinary home life, since ordinary people still tended to draw a dichotomy between public and private affairs. The center of community life in many respects was still the old village, now usually referred to as a *buraku*, or "neighborhood," and it behooves us to consider below the structural changes in these *buraku* during the Meiji period.

4. VILLAGE LIFE AND THE REORGANIZATION OF OLD VILLAGES

(1) The reorganization of villages. As mentioned above, when the new system of local government was established, the old villages tended to reorganize in a new form. During the second and third decades of Meiji, many of them set up rules and regulations of their own. Let us take as an example the case of the village of Minato, Suwa County, Nagano Prefecture. Minato was formed of two old villages, Hanaoka and Kosaka, which subsequently were referred locally to as "wards." In both these communities, a great number of documents have been preserved, and it is therefore possible to examine the concrete changes that took place in this period. In Hanaoka, the writing of the new regulations was begun in 1893 and completed in 1893, while in Kosaka, regulations were first written in 1895 and then revised in 1899. The following are excerpts from the Kosaka rules.

- (1) All business of this ward shall be carried out in accordance with these regulations, but this does not apply to affairs delegated to the ward by the village government. In general, longstanding customs of the ward shall have the same force as these regulations, unless rules to the contrary are enacted. This provision, however, may in no way be construed to alter rights or obligations provided by civil law.

- (2) All persons who have residence in this ward have, subject to these regulations, the right to participate in the common ownership of public buildings and property accruing to the ward. At the same time, all such persons are obliged to accept their share of all obligations incumbent upon the ward. This provision, however, does not apply to persons whose population registration is not in this ward. The people of the ward have the right to be elected to honorary ward offices and the obligation to perform the duties of such offices if selected.

The rules of Hanaoka included the following:

(Preface)

These articles are aimed at eliminating inconvenient or uneconomical customs of the past. Officers of the ward and the people as well must do their best to fulfill their obligations and carry out their responsibilities...

(1) *General Regulations*

- (1) These rules shall be carried out in this ward even after the establishment of the ward assembly.
- (2) This ward, in accordance with these regulations, will be considered the same as an individual person. It will be accordingly accept its responsibilities and obligations and undertake to perform the public work in its charge.
- (3) This ward shall be commensurate with the old small ward.
- (4) Every person living in the ward shall be considered a resident thereof. Each resident has the right to a share in the ownership of public buildings and property accruing this ward. Each person also is obliged to accept his share of the ward's obligations and responsibilities. This provision, however, is not

to interfere with rights or obligations provided by civil law. The customs of the past shall be followed in the case of transients.

- (5) All independent male residents of the ward who have full civil rights are considered freemen of the ward. An "independent male resident" is a man who is 25 years of age or more, possesses a household, and is legally competent to manage his business. Other persons may in special cases be recognized by the ward as freemen.
- (6) All freemen of the ward have the right either to be or not to be elected to ward offices.

The Kosaka regulations then list provisions for a ward assembly, for an assembly of advisers, for administrative affairs, for financial affairs, for sumptuary causes, and for miscellaneous matters. The Hanaoka regulations list provisions for the local assembly, ward administration, control of common property, and punishment of violators. Both lists of regulations run to some 50 articles and are very detailed.

These local codes make it clear the residents of rural areas were trying to make rules of their own for community life, distinct from those issued by the new administrative units. Within the limits of the old community, the rights and obligations of each resident were specifically stated. The wording of the rules shows the influence of the legal phraseology of the new period, but aside from a few minor revisions, the documents call for the preservation of the traditional systems of government in the old villages. It is significant, however, that in many instances provisions were made for electing village officials instead of entrusting official duties to the same families generation after generation. This indicates that the popular rights movement was being felt in rural districts. The residents of the old villages, far from being absorbed immediately into the legal and administrative structure of the new villages, clearly wished to reorganize the old communities as working concerns.

(2) Forest property belonging to the *buraku*. The earliest legal code of Japan stipulates that the profits from mountain forests were to be shared by the government and the people, and for centuries later forests were regarded as public property, which no one could monopolize. In the early Tokugawa period, the right of each village to exploit the forests around it was recognized, while other forest land was considered to belong to the shogunate or the individual feudatories. As time went on and population increased, however, new forest lands were brought under cultivation, and at the same time measures on the part of the shogunate and the feudal lords to protect the forests were strengthened, so that the forest lands available to the people gradually shrank. In some places the traditional right to exploit such lands was threatened, and attempts by the villages to protect their ancient privileges or to acquire similar rights to new forests caused many disputes and legal suits. Gradually, therefore, the hitherto rather vague privileges began to crystallize into definite forms. The concepts of ownership and rights of exploitation were still somewhat vague, but at any rate it was generally recognized that forests were not to be exploited for commercial purposes, but were to serve as the farmers' source of necessary firewood, foliage (for fertilizer and animal feed), and the like. In general, the farmers were interested not in the land but in what grew on it, and for this reason the question of actual land ownership rarely arose. Forests were considered to be either the property of the villages that exploited them or that of the shogunate. Since the right of exploitation was not specifically guaranteed by law and rested entirely on custom, it varied in content and detail from one district to the rest.

By means of a land-tax reform in early Meiji, the government attempted to adopt the modern European system of land ownership and land taxes, but many difficulties arose in connection with forest lands. First of all, in 1872 the government declared all forest lands hitherto exploited by farming villages to be

public property and issued deeds thereto to the villages in question. At the same time, a tax was placed on such lands and in 1876 it was reclassified as private land.

In 1877, the Bureau of Provincial Regions ordered a survey of local practices concerning the forests with an eye toward setting up a clear distinction between property belonging to the government and that belonging to the people. Both the government and the Bureau had in mind the enlargement of government holdings, and the villages, for their part, so dreaded the land tax that many of them voluntarily applied to have the land incorporated into government property. Many of the forests, therefore, were taken over by the government or by wealthy individual owners at this time.

The problem of deciding ownership of lands long exploited by the farmers was a difficult one, and the authorities often acted arbitrarily and even unfairly. This was particularly true in the distant northeast, which was not among the more advanced areas, and which had relatively little political power. An overwhelming majority of the forest land in this district became government property or fell into the hands of private individuals.

As the concept of land ownership became clearer, the problem of just who owned the forests hitherto exploited became thornier, and there were many legal disputes. The general trend was toward increased government ownership and decreased rights of exploitations. Nevertheless, until the creation of the local administration system of 1889, villages continued to control a huge amount of forest land, the vast majority of which was registered under the names of the groups exploiting it. To be sure, with the establishment of the rights to land ownership, the desire for private land increased, and at the same time people became more and more aware of the commercial value of forest land, so that in many communities the communal forest property was divided up among the individual residents. Nevertheless the old villages still owned much land, and this

fact was one of the important reasons for their coherence as communities.

After 1889, when the new local administrations were established, the old villages ceased to exist from the legal point of view, and the problem of forest lands held by them again arose. Whatever the legal status of these villages, however, the system of self-supply was still strong in rural areas, and it would have been fatal suddenly to deprive the farmers of their privilege to use the forests. Consequently, though some of the village lands were taken over by the new local administrations, most of them remained in the possession of the old villages (now *buraku*) and were registered jointly in the names of the villagers (that is, the right-holders). No special laws purporting to settle the forest ownership problem once and for all were enacted at this time. In other words, the old customs continued by and large to prevail.

The question of the forest lands no doubt underlay the attempts of the extralegal *buraku* to reorganize themselves under the new system. Still, there was in effect no legal control over the forests held by *buraku*, and though some of the *buraku* maintained strict regulations and guarded their communal rights jealously, many divided the property up among former right-holders, thus promoting the tendency for such property to become concentrated in the hands of a few large owners, and others exercised such lax control over the land that it was soon laid waste by over-exploitation. This latter phenomenon was caused largely by the combination of a rapid rise in population, new efforts to bring more land under cultivation, and the loss (from the farmers' point of view) of forest lands to governmental control.

With the forests being depleted at an alarming rate, in 1909 the government finally took decisive action on the forest problem. Forests owned by *buraku* were turned over to the new administrative units; the customary rights to exploitation were abolished or greatly curbed; and an attempt was made to draw

the whole problem into the legal framework. None the less, there were many complicated variations in customs concerning these lands, and they still constituted an important source of necessary materials to the farmers; consequently, the government's new law was by no means enforced overnight. Many aspects of the problem were still unsolved at the end of Meiji.

As the above indicates, though the customs pertaining to forests varied from district to district, communal ownership by the old villages, or *buraku*, was one of the main reasons for the continued existence of the latter. The importance of the forests, and hence of the *buraku*, to the farmer tended to decrease as the system of economic self-sufficiency weakened.

(3) Offshore fishing rights. From very early times the right of villages on the seacoast to fish in the waters off their shores was recognized all over the country. This right was held by the community as a whole, just as the right to exploit nearby forests was held by farming villages. The fishing rights, however, were not necessarily divided equally among the various coastal communities. Villages engaged exclusively in fishing, for example, often held customary rights to very large areas, while on the other hand some villages, though on the coast, commanded only a narrow strip of off-shore waters. As in the case of forests, increases in population, unequal distribution of rights, and other problems of the same sort led to many serious problems and disputes. In the case of fishing privileges, however, there was no question of private ownership, and the rights of the village remained the rights of the whole group. Control and distribution of these rights were the prerogatives of the villages and were governed by village customs. It is only natural then that in the early Meiji, when small-scale coastal fishing was still a major means of production, communal fishing rights played an extremely large part in maintaining the unity and coherence of the traditional village.

In 1875, the government suddenly declared all off-shore waters public property and established a system of paid fishing

permits on which areas were specified. This measure was in direct opposition to custom, and it provoked strong resistance on the part of fishing communities. A number of riots broke out, and there was confusion everywhere. In the following year the government amended the law. The off-shore waters were still classed as government property, but the management and control of fishing were left entirely to local custom. The situation quieted down, and thereafter the government continued to let tradition reign instead of casting about in America and Europe for laws to impose on the fishing industry. In 1901 a fishing law was promulgated, but it was little more than a written version of the customs preserved since the Tokugawa period. One notable departure, however, was that traditional fishing rights were conferred upon the local fishermen's union instead of to the community as a whole, the union's handling of the rights being subject to the approval of appropriate governmental authorities. In 1886 the government had already enacted a fishermen's union law that had provided for the formation of unions comprising suitable areas and dedicated to the elimination of past evils and the promotion of profits. Now, in connection with the fishing law, the government in 1902 published a new set of regulations for the unions.

The fishing law provided that the area encompassed by each union was in principle to coincide with that of the traditional fishing community. Though the union was the legal holder of the fishing rights, it was not permitted to manage fishing operations. The fishing privilege was treated as a real right, which could not only be inherited from one generation to the next, but could also be bought or sold, borrowed, or lent. In brief, while abiding by the old customs of the group government, the government treated the rights of in a modern fashion. In a revised version of the law, enacted in 1910, the rights were clearly recognized as real rights, and provisions were made for the preparation of regulations concerning land. Eventually, in 1933, the fishing unions were classed as industrial unions, and

the right of managing their own fishing was conferred upon them. In general, after its initial failure, the government granted rights to take the place of those that had formerly been accorded individual fishing villages, but at the same time gradually gave the rights a modern definition.

There is no doubt but that the fishing rights sanctioned by long custom constituted one of the chief forces holding the traditional village organizations together. The fishermen's unions as a rule included almost all residents of the areas in which they were located and to all intents and purposes were dential with the old village group. Sometimes therefore, the leading faction in the organization was composed of persons other than fishermen, whereas on the other hand professional fishermen new to the area were often refused membership. Despite the Meiji political revolution, then, the customary ways of life were too strongly rooted to change very greatly.

(4) Customs regarding the use of water

Since but rice cultivation was these the main petlar of Japanese agriculture, the distribution of water commanded a good deal of attention, and customs concerning the use of water dated back to ancient times. In the peaceful Tokugawa period, however, the expansion of fields under the cultivation led to an increased need for water and created many disputes over custom, but as a result the latter gradually crystallized in to more or less clear cut forms. In the plain areas, where most of the wet paddies were located, cooperation with respect to the water supply was one of the principal cohesive forces in farming villages.

Customs with regard to water supply, unlike those connected with forests and fishing waters, were little affected by the Meiji political reform. True a number of spectacular developments occurred in the field of water control, and large new areas of land were irrigated, but nevertheless the old practices with regard to water were left largely intact. Such changes as took place were usually carried out by the individual communities

themselves, and the government merely stepped in here and there to settle on occasional dispute. As one historian put it,

The Meiji reform, which even prompted people to use the word "revolution," stopped short of altering the basic structure of Japanese agriculture. Superficial changes were made, but the feudalistic relationship were left as they were. This gave rise to a number of illogical situations, but at the same time it underline the fact that old irrigation customs still play an important role today.

—Kitamura Toshio, *An Historical Study of Irrigation Practices in Japan* (*Nihon Kangai Yōsui Kan-kō no Shi-teki Kenkyū*)

In brief, the practices that became fixed under the feudal lords of the Tokugawa period continued, and in many cases still continue, to remain in effect. In this connection we might observe that despite the fact that private ownership of farm lands developed in the Tokugawa period, despite even the adoption of modern concepts of ownership in the Meiji period, the actual ownership relations in Japanese farming communities was not materially changed.

The distribution of water is determined by the farmers innovated, but the traditional regulations of the community are so strong that in some places one might consider the *buraku* itself to be the possessor of old irrigation practices has been instrumental in keeping many villages together even in the post-Meiji period.

(5) Shrines in connection with the *buraku*

Among the forces binding the *buraku* (former villages) together one must not overlook the shrines of the village tutelary deity, the land-protecting deity, and the ancestral deity. These shrines were in almost all instances connected with the founding of the village in which they were located, and festivals

dedicated to the deities in question have been observed annually by the communities for decades and centuries. To take a proper part in the celebrations and worship dedicated to the village tutelary deity was generally considered to qualify a person for full-fledged membership in village society, and from birth until death, each individual was expected to pay respects at the shrine on all great occasions of his life. In the area around Kyoto the worshipers of tutelary deities are organized in guilds (*za*), the rules for entry into which are very strict with regard to family lineage. The guild is often virtually identical with the social structure of the communities itself, and since religious celebrations tend to be conservative in the first place, those engaged in by these guilds reflect social traits that existed when the village was founded.

In the Tokugawa period, one of the government's means of repressing Christianity was to refine every family to declare its affiliation with a Buddhist temple. Furthermore, the temple took charge of all funerals—that is to say, it was the place from which people went to their last rest—but despite this fact, Buddhism did not disturb the organization of worshipers of the village tutelary god, which remained the supporting pith of community life.

In the Meiji period, one of the fundamental shōguns was "respect for the emperor and revival of the past."—a phrase, we might note, which had religious connotations, since the emperor was the descendant of the Sun Goddess, and the past was in one sense the age of the gods and in another the era prior to the interruption by the shōguns of the emperor's godly rule.

The Ministry of Religion, which in ancient times had been ranked above the chancellery, was revived, and there was much talk of unifying government and religion. A whole group of reforms carried out around 1871 were directed at reviving the ancient form of Shinto as a spiritual support for the state.

In the fifth month of 1871 shrines were classed as official or

unofficial. The official shrines were henceforward changed with national worship and placed under the control of the Ministry of Religion, while the unofficial shrines were further classified as prefectural or town (*kyō*) shrines and placed under the control of the appropriate local officials. In the seventh month of 1871, it was ordered that the shrine affiliation of every subject be examined. This step was connected with the establishment of wards and ward leaders in the following year (see page 357), since in every new ward the most important shrine was classified as a town shrine (others were "village shrines") and appointed as the place for subjects to register their affiliation and receive religious amulets. The result was that in every ward there was a ward leader, to keep tab on where people were and what they were doing, and a shrine to keep tab on what they believed, or at least to make sure that they professed to believe in the national religion. The ward leader and the shrine worked hand in hand.

This system represented the first manifestation of the new national state on the local level. The combination of shrine and ward leader corresponded to that of the Ministry of Religion and Chancellery in the central government. Everything was consistent from top to bottom—too consistent, one supposes. At any rate, the more it indicates the strength of the current desire to revive the past, when religion and government were supposed to have been but one.

In 1871 the feudal districts were replaced by prefectures, this step marking a change in the over-all political situation. In the eighth month of the same year the title of the Ministry of Religion was downgraded slightly, and in the following year the institution was replaced by the Ministry of Teachings. The latter, however, clashed with Buddhist believers and was also attacked by supporters of the popular rights movement and of the separation of government and education. In 1877 the Ministry of Teachings was abolished, and shrine affairs were turned over to the Department of Shrines and Temples in the Home

Ministry.

The turn about on religion was extended to the provinces, and in 1873 the order requiring registration as shrine was receded. The ward leaders, we might note, disappeared too, and little other than the classifications of shrines remained of the original system. Subsequently, in 1875, regulations for the conduct of shrine festivals were issued, but this and later rules of the sort were directed primarily to national shrines. In 1874, government contributions to shrines and temples were cut off, and it was left to the people to support them. After 1877 the smaller shrines are scarcely mentioned in government pronouncement. No special provision was made for them when the new local administrative system was in 1889.

In 1875, a government count of shrines gives a total of 176,450. Theoretically these were all subject to government control, but aside from national and prefectural shrines, the great majority of them were small shrines maintained by the people of a village and, despite the various reforms of the previous few years, serving as the center of the same festivals and shrine organizations as before the Restoration. Most of them continued to constitute a unifying force in their villages after the latter ceased to be villages and became *buraku*.

After the Sino-Japanese war there was another wave of nationalism, and the government again became active in religion. In 1906 offerings and presents began to be sent to shrines by local governments on the appointed festival days—prefectures contributing to prefectural shrines, counties and cities to town shrines, and the smaller administrative units to village shrines. Thus, a connection was established between shrines of various types and the appropriate local governments, and the shrine classifications for the first-time began to mean what they seemed to mean. In 1908 a law governing the property and finances of shrines was enacted, and subsequently shrines began to occupy an important place in governmental affairs.

Around this time the government felt that something ought

to be done to eliminate the huge number of diminutive, minor shrines and instead focus attention on more consequential shrines that might be converted into religious centers in the new provincial divisions. Furthermore a need was seen for shrines that could assist in instilling national feeling into the people. In August, 1906, the government began actively pursuing these ends. Eighty-thousand small shrines were wiped out in the succeeding few years, and in some prefectures the goal of one shrine to one village (new) was attained, but this was exceptional. In some districts pressure does not seem to have been applied, while in others it was applied so ruthlessly that the people rose up in wrath. Deprived of the symbol of their unity, the people of some *buraku* raised disturbances that troubled village administrators for a long time afterward. Despite the figure of 80,000, in most districts the most the government succeeded in doing was gathering all the smaller shrines in each *buraku* into the compound of the largest shrine. This attempt on the government's part to create a close connection between its new administrative units and the shrines and to make the shrines centers of patriotism met with surprisingly strong resistance from the old villages. In 1909, the government relaxed its efforts, and the elimination of shrines virtually came to a halt.

The above episode indicates on the one hand that the old villages, though legally non-existent since 1889, still retained considerable strength, and on the other that the government with its overemphasis on nationalism was straining its political power to the limits. Actually, the elimination of the old villages from the law freed them from a good deal of government interference and left them time to reorganize as they pleased.

The movement to eliminate shrines succeeded in some of the old villages, but it did not really reduce the cohesive forces underlying village unity. Many small villages actually rallied around the local shrine and attempted to have it recognized by the government, often going to the extent of placing village

communal property in the shrine's hands to strengthen its position.

Broadly speaking, local temples were not so intimately connected with the old villages as were shrines, and we shall not go into their relationship with the new system of administration here. Suffice it to say that their political importance was greatly reduced by the anti-Buddhist movement of the early Meiji, and subsequently they commanded relatively little attention from the makers of local administrative policy.

The points we have taken up concerning communal property, irrigation, and village shrines indicate one very important fact; to wit, that whatever reforms were attempted by the central government and the new local administrations, the old village organizations remained strong because of the part they played in practical everyday life. The Meiji government attempted at first to interfere, but presently more or less gave up, not to resume its activities in this respect until around 1900. Even after that the old village structures remained practically intact in many places, and in the cases in which they did not, it is questionable whether the government's role was decisive or not. Most often the spread of modern industry and the capitalistic system caused internal collapse, and the government's policies merely served as guideposts after this occurred.

(7) A typical example of the system of officials or functionaries within the *buraku* is found in the case of the district of I'inumazawa, Kawashima-mura, Kami'ina-gun, Nagano Prefecture. The officers were as follows:

There were any number of variations from district to district, particularly in nomenclature, but the basic offices were as a rule those of the *buraku* spokesman and the leaders of the neighborhood groups. In large *buraku*, a number of additional functionaries were added to the list given above, and conversely in small *buraku*, a number of those named were eliminated.

In the Tokugawa period villages (i. e. the *buraku* of Meiji) were in effect run by the leading families therein, who retained

<i>Title</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Term of Office</i>	<i>Method of appointment</i>	<i>Function</i>
Representative on behalf of farming lands	1	1 year	Election	Spokesman of the <i>buraku</i>
Assistant to the above	1	"	"	Assistant spokesman
Section Members	6	3 years	"	Consultants (two serving each year by turns)
Leaders of Five-man Groups	7	2 years	Rotation	Organization of the five-man group
Representatives of Parishioners of the Tutelary Deity	4	"	Election	In charge of shrine and festivals
Representative of the Temple	1	"	"	In charge of affairs connected with the temple
Mountain Controllers	2	"	"	In charge of command mountain land
Health Officers	4	4 years	Election	In charge of sanitation, etc.
Military Committeeman	1	2 years	"	In charge of all military affairs

their prerogatives from generation to generation, and who were generally known as "elders," "village functionaries," or simply "adults." In the early Meiji period the heads of such families often continued to assume the positions of leadership, but the general trend was toward equality among houses in the *buraku*. Spokesmen group leaders came by and large to be elected or appointed by turns. To this extent, at least, the ideals stated by Meiji government leaders were reflected in the structure of the *buraku*.

The so-called "five-man group" requires special comment. In the first place it should be observed that the number is to be taken none too seriously. In some areas the smallest unit of *buraku* social organization included ten families or even more. In any event, however, sub-groups comprising a number of families were to be found in almost every *buraku*, and they functioned as important instruments of practical government.

These groups were not necessarily neighborhood groups.—often they consisted of a hereditary leading family and a number of other families affiliated with it in one way or another, regardless of location—but they tended to become that. They were left intact at the first of Meiji, but were abolished in 1872, when the old village officials were replaced by appointed headmen. At the same time the government ordered the formation of new five-man groups based on proximity alone and organized on the basis of equality of families. This promoted an already existing trend, and in many *buraku* groups more or less in accord with the government's order were formed, but the government itself was so concerned with the new villages that it subsequently left the internal structure of the *buraku* up to the *buraku* itself. As a result the groups were very little more uniform than before, but they were organized autonomously, and they were important not only as units of genuine self-government, but as associations for mutual aid among neighbors.

The conference of the village elders of the Tokugawa period was often succeeded by a *buraku* assembly or some other

organization modeled on the new village assemblies. Such organizations, however, had no legal existence, and they varied tremendously in structure and function from place to place.

(8) The *buraku* as a center of consumption. After the Meiji Restoration, the various Tokugawa limitations on food, clothing, and housing were legally removed, and the individual was theoretically free to spend his money in any way he saw fit. In rural communities, however, elements of communal life were still strong, and the group imposed limitations on individual action in this respect. In particular, a great number of *buraku* adopted what amounted to local laws concerning the exchange of gifts inasmuch as this entailed in many instances needless expenditures for everyone involved. In places New Year's presents, wedding gifts, and the like were forbidden except within the family, and fines were imposed upon violators. Behind such regulations one can make out the form of Tokugawa-period sumptuary restrictions, but it is significant that the new rules were not imposed on people from above because of their status, but rather adopted by common consent.

Despite the rules against giving gifts, which indicate a desire to economize on the social amendments, the interesting fact is that villagers who could afford to take advantage of the new freedom to build their houses as they placed ordinarily set about improving not the essential living quarters but rather the sections of their houses designed primarily for receiving guests. The inconsistency is only apparent, since the underlying policy of the *buraku* was directed at maintaining the same way of life for all. Persons who were able to entertain during festivals, holidays, and the like were expected to do so, and the building of rooms for entertaining guests was in a sense a public duty. "Entertainment" is perhaps not the proper word, since social gatherings of the *buraku* were usually sanctioned by tradition or religion—most often they were occasioned by *buraku* business or the festival of a deity—but they also usually involved a good deal of eating and drinking. In the Meiji period the

leading class within the *buraku* expanded. This meant that more people were expected to be host to *buraku* gatherings and hence had to equip their houses for the purpose. This tendency was very widespread in the first half of Meiji.

As we have stated, the new villages served as funnels through which new commodities as well as new customs were introduced to rural areas. Whatever part these new elements played in the lines of individual, however, they played little part in the public life of the *buraku* during the first half of Meiji. The decline of selfsufficiency on the part of farmers, however, did lead to changes in community customs. For one thing, there was a noticeable shift to money and commercial products among items presented as gifts. The following table indicates the proportion of commercial goods and goods produced at home among condolence gifts given in the district of Hirade-Asahimura, Kami'i-gun, Nagano Prefecture.

Year	A Total Number of Gifts	B Gifts Pro- duced in the Home	C Money and Commercial Items	(C)
1884	183	98	85	46.4
1869	188	71	117	62.2
1875	253	127	126	49.9
1881	308	130	178	57.7
1899	426	146	280	65.8

Even though the natural tendency on the occasion of deaths was to give domestic products—that is to say, food—in the 1890's the proportion of commercial gifts was by far the larger.

The regulations against gifts mentioned above were occasioned by the social and economic changes of the times. Throughout the earlier half of Meiji, on increasing number of persons in the *buraku* entered the class that was obligated to take part in public life. At the same time, however, economic conditions were such that monetary expenditures were gradually increasing.

Some sort of limit had to be established, and the *buraku* undertook to establish it. This action was in effect an attempt, albeit a conservative one, to improve the welfare of the group.

That the *buraku* were not always conservative in their policies is illustrated by the fact that the spread of electric lights to rural districts was largely the result of action on their part. It is entirely possible that they may have made more positive attempts to introduce other modern improvements had the economic situation permitted.

The power of the *buraku* to control consumption by individuals rested largely on its possession of communal forest property on which those individuals depended for supplies of lumber and fertilizer. When such property was lost or depleted, the *buraku* lost much of its control over the economic life of its members.

5. CHANGES IN COOPERATIVE CUSTOMS

It is important to observe that the old village was often divided into smaller cooperative groups, such as the clan or the neighborhood association, which gathered to perform certain more or less specific tasks. In the case of the village of Kawashima, Kami-Ina-gun, Nagano Prefecture, such groups functioned on the following basis:

Type of Work or Activity	Groups Engaged in Work or Activity
Regular farming	Family plus a few close relatives (sometimes with the addition of hired laborers)
Rice transplanting	Family plus relatives, neighbors, and other closely connected persons (not a specific group; hired labor added)
Cooking bean paste	Family plus <i>kumiai</i> (union of close neighbors) plus <i>ôgumi</i> (larger union)

	including all residents of a particular area within the village)
Construction of buildings	Family plus relatives plus <i>kumiai</i> plus <i>ōgumi</i>
Roofing (thatch)	Family plus <i>ōgumi</i> or the entire village
Marriage ceremony	Family plus <i>kumiai</i> , relatives, other closely connected persons plus (occasionally) <i>ōgumi</i> or youth association
Funerals	Family plus <i>kumiai</i> , relatives, other closely connected persons, <i>ōgumi</i> or funeral association plus other <i>ōgumi</i> in the village or from other villages
Assisting after fire	Entire village plus residents of other villages.

(Note: The above applies to the late Taishō period, but the situation was essentially the same in Meiji. "Relatives" includes the main family and its branches, along with other relatives in the new village area. "Other closely connected persons" included for the larger part persons with a foster relationship of one sort or another.)

It is clear that aside from assisting after fires, the activities involving the most groups were marriage and funeral ceremonies, particularly the latter. In this connection, we should observe that these two activities involved a great deal of eating and drinking and therefore constituted an important aspect of economic consumption by the group.

The appearance of modern farm implements, in particular equipment for hulling rice, greatly reduced the necessity for cooperative effort in farm work, and the spread of modern economy had much the same effect. Until the Meiji period, the typical village took the lumber for its collective building needs from its communal forest lands. In the case of building

after fires, the families who had to rebuild were given an allotment of trees to use as lumber, this amount being supplemented in many cases by gifts from relatives or friends. Furthermore, since the cutting and transport of the trees and the building of the house were carried out almost entirely by the group, the persons building were relieved of virtually all expenses except those entailed in feasting the helpers. Actually, however, this latter obligation tended to become a heavy burden in the Meiji period, and this fact, coupled with a gradual lessening of communal property, led to the virtual abandonment of cooperative effort in building projects. The same was true in the case of thatching roofs, in which work the practice of mutual assistance had been even more pronounced.

As a rule, the group expected to assist at times of marriage, birth, illness, or death was gradually curtailed after the middle Meiji. As in the cases mentioned above, the chief problem was the expense involved in winning and dining the helpers—a problem which it will be recalled figured prominently in the new rules and regulations adopted by traditional villages. In effect, the pervasion of a money economy and the accompanying loss of self-sufficiency rendered group action obsolete, and the entertainment formerly provided in return for assistance given became more of a burden than it was worth. As a result, in the latter half of Meiji, people in general tended to limit cooperative action to an intimate circle of family and close neighbors.

6. URBAN LIFE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

From the beginning to the end of the Tokugawa period, urban and rural life were almost completely separate one from the other, largely because of the status division of social status according to occupation. In principle the rural population worked the land and bore the burden of feudal taxes, while the urban population was composed of warriors, merchants and artisans who had no part whatever in agricultural production.

Accordingly, the urban governmental system differed from the rural, and the political elements of ordinary life were equally divergent.

Whereas in farming villages everyone had essentially the same status, for example, this was not true in the cities, where the different classes were distinguished and indeed to a considerable degree segregated. In Edo and Osaka particular districts were designated for the use of warriors, temples, and ordinary townspeople, and the political administration of these groups was not homogeneous. The same was by and large the case in Kyoto and the castle towns.

In the early Meiji period the class distinctions in the cities were legally abolished and the urban populations unified into homogeneous political entities. Herein began what we think of as the urban way of life.

a. The Old Organization of the *Chō* and the New City Wards

In Tokugawa-period cities, only house owners were considered full-fledged townspeople, and persons who rented land or houses were given residence permission only on the guarantee of the property owners. This situation would have been simple enough if each lessor's property had all been located within the local administrative unit (*chō*) in which he lived, but such was not the case. The landowner himself was responsible to his own *chō*, but matters pertaining to such property as he held in other *chō* and the persons renting it were in the province of the other *chō*. Under the circumstances, there developed a custom whereby in such cases a representative of the landlord took up residence in the *chō* where the rented property was located and served simultaneously as the *chō* official in charge of matters pertaining to such property. The representative was treated as a full-fledged resident of the *chō*, that is to say as a regular house-owners. Together with the house-owners, the representatives were organized into five-man groups which took charge of

various tasks and duties within the *chō* there was a small office with a clerk, which acted on behalf of the shogunate's city magistrate.

By the end of the Tokugawa period sixty per cent of the residents of cities were tenants, and the relationship between landlord and tenant was of paramount importance within the *chō*. Group action and group life were in fact controlled by this relationship.

In 1869, 238 landowners also serving as *chō* officials in Tokyo were relieved of their duties, and the organization of townspeople revised. The city was divided into fifty wards, each having an elder and an assistant elder. For each five wards a leader was chosen from among the elders. The old *chō* offices were abolished and a new office established in each ward to take their place. In the same year, the five-man organization were abolished together with the duties they had performed, and landowners and their representatives were forbidden to take part in the government of the *chō*. The purpose of this move was to eliminate evils that had arisen from landowners having in many instances left the control of their property entirely in the hands of incompetent or unsuitable representatives. In the place of the old *chō* leaders, from two to four new elders were appointed to handle the business of the *chō*. The representatives of the landlords, however, were too firmly entrenched to be eliminated so easily, and in 1870 they were ingeneral made functionaries of the *chō*, though without pay. From among them *chō* leaders were selected and granted a monthly wage. These latter performed the work later taken over by ward offices and *chō* assemblies. This system continued until 1876.

In the meantime, in 1871 the fifty wards were divided into six and then eleven large wards, and gradually the position of the large ward was consolidated. In 1876 the office of the *chō* leaders was abolished and its functions transferred to the central offices of the large wards. Simultaneously, rules for the conduct of ward officials were issued in the name of the governor of

Tokyo.

Despite these complicated changes, within the *chō* the relationship between landlord and tenant remained an important factor. In so far as the *chō* was autonomous, it was generally speaking run by an assembly of the landlords, who also defrayed its expenses. What finally destroyed the organization of the *chō* was the influx of new people into the city. The rapid growth of the urban population led to the settling of many new districts, and even the old *chō* were infiltrated by people who had no connection with the traditional system. On the one hand, the population grew too dense for the old *chō* organizations to encompass, and the rate of growth was too rapid to allow for the natural development of new autonomous units. By and large the functions of urban government of necessity were assumed by the ward offices and the city administration.

b. The Development of Public Enterprises

The influx of people into the cities created a need for public works beyond the capacity of the *chō* or similar small units, and it became necessary for the central government of the municipal governments to take the required measures. In this section we should like to examine public works undertaken by the cities of the new age.

(1) Water Supply. The need for water in urban centers was not, of course, new to the Meiji period, and in the Tokugawa period public systems of water supply already existed in a number of cities, as outlined below:

Mains for drinking water: Edo, Akao, Takamatsu, Mito, Fukuyama, Nakatsu, Udo, Nagoya, Kagoshima (the foregoing all constructed by the government); Nagasaki, Koshigaham, Ōtsu, Kurusato, Kanagawa (privately constructed); Kanagawa, Tottori, Ibusuki, Gonyōkaku (for government use only) Mains for drinking water and water for washing: Sendai, Shizuoka, Saga, Yonezawa, Toyama, Fukui,

Toyohashi, Odawara (all constructed by the government)

Some of these water systems were discontinued prior to 1889, but the others were all taken over by municipal governments upon the establishment of the new local administrative system in that year. In any event, they were all built by pre-modern methods, and the task of converting them into modern European-style systems remained for the new city administrations to carry out.

Construction on the first modern water system was completed in 1887 in Yokohama. At first the project was managed by the prefecture and financed largely by the national government, but in 1890 it was transferred to municipal control. Improved water systems were also built in the following cities:

<i>City</i>	<i>Date of Completion of System</i>
Hakodate	December, 1889
Nagasaki	March, 1891
Osaka	October, 1895
Hiroshima	August, 1898
Tokyo	December, 1898
Okayama	March, 1905
Kōbe	July, 1905
Shimonoseki	March, 1906

Virtually all of these projects were undertaken under the leadership and with the financial support of the central government. The government concentrated first on the three principal cities and the five main ports of foreign trade not only because population was dense in these centers, but also because there were foreigners present. In general financial aid consisted of one third of the original cost of installation. In the interest of preventing diseases and encouraging industry aid was extended to more areas after 1900, but most cities other than those named were without water systems until the last few years of Meiji, and many until the Taishō period. It will be observed that the expansion of water supply systems coincides chronologically with the statistics given at the first of this

chapter on the growth of cities.

In almost all the cities listed above, the construction of the water system was supervised by foreign technicians. It was only natural, of course that the government should seek foreign advice in carrying out this project, particularly during its early stages.

It is important to note that the construction of water systems in the leading cities was one of the earliest projects undertaken under the local administrative system established in 1889. Actually the need for a modern water supply had been recognized in a number of cities prior to this time, and often the work had been undertaken by private companies. The Yokohama water system, for example, was preceded by an old-fashioned system undertaken in 1871 by a private company. Other private companies submitted plans for water works in Tokyo in 1888 and Kōbe in 1889, and a company in Niigata actually had a water system in operation in the latter year. It is interesting to observe that the various private water projects appear to have been on the whole quite altruistic. The aim in almost all instances seems to have been to contribute to the public welfare rather than to gain large profits.

In any event, the need was beyond the capacity of private enterprise, and in 1890, after considerable deliberation in the national cabinet, the government issued regulations banning privately operated water systems. This step placed a large responsibility on the newly established city governments, but by the same token increased their authority.

The spread of urban water systems invariably lagged behind the expansion of the cities, and in many districts there were all too few water outlets, but by the end of Meiji much had been done to eliminate such evils as public wells close by private, which had long since become a hazard to the public health. The various municipal water systems represent one of the first great benefits extended to city residents by the cities themselves and are at the same time an example of cooperative enterprise

on the modern urban level.

c. Other Municipal Projects

The first modern sewer system in the Japan was installed under the Ginza no later than 1875, but though sewage pipes were subsequently laid in various sections of Tokyo, there was no vast extension of the system until 1923. In Sendai, on the other hand, the sewage system was not begun until 1889, but was extended throughout the central portion of the city by 1913. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the first municipal sewer was installed in Sendai rather than in Tokyo. In the late Meiji, sewage installations were begun in Hiroshima, Nagoya, Osaka, and Kōbe, but not finished until long afterward.

In most places the laying of sewers was retarded by the fact that farmers relied upon nightsoil for fertilizer, which they came to the cities to collect and which they paid for either in money or in produce. This was no small matter from the economic point of view. In 1889 in Osaka, for example, it was calculated that the annual refuse from privies was worth a total of 80,000 yen, and it was formally proposed to the city council that the city undertake to collect the refuse, sell it, and use the proceeds over twenty years for harbor improvement and the installation of water mains. The plan was not carried out, but it amply illustrates the fact that such refuse was by no means considered worthless.

The system whereby farmers carried away nightsoil ultimately began to collapse, first, because of the tremendous rise in urban populations, and, second, because chemical fertilizers became available at more or less reasonable prices. In the Taishō and Shōwa periods municipal sewage systems were greatly improved, but they still leave much to be desired even in the largest cities today.

The development of electric and gas power facilities and that of urban transportation systems have been discussed at length in

other parts of this book, and we shall therefore confine ourselves here to pointing out that these facilities were for the larger part privately owned and operated throughout the Meiji period. There is one very notable exception, to wit the municipal tramway line in Osaka, which was founded in 1903, and which played at a large part in the development of modern transportation in Osaka. Otherwise, cities made only the first few moves toward assuming responsibility for lighting, heat, and transport in this period. Later, of course, they took a leading role in public enterprises of this sort.

d. Conclusion

With the exception of water facilities, then, the various public works necessitated by the growth of cities in the Meiji period were first undertaken by private enterprises, and it will be observed that even municipal water facilities did not amount to much until the Meiji thirties. The transfer of gas, electricity, and public transportation facilities to municipal governments did not in general begin until the last years of Meiji—a fact indicating that these new importations from the West were prior to that time still not sufficiently involved in the general public welfare to demand municipal control. To be sure, such control had to await the final establishment of the new system of local administration, but nevertheless it is a fact that many of the features of modern urban life did not appear until the end of Meiji or afterward. Needless to say, water, gas, and electricity facilities were much slower to reach the rural areas.

Despite all the government's efforts to introduce Western material civilization, the latter did not meet with uniform acceptance in this nation of so many varying local traditions and ways of life. Some thing, such a making men cut their hair short or drafting boys into a new army, could be and were accomplished by force with very little variation between town and country. Other phases of the Westernization program,

notably the public works mentioned above, simply could not be realized in rural areas because no economic foundation existed for them. Still other aspects of Westernization, such as the eating of meat and the use of glass windows, were duly introduced in schools, in the army, and in factories, but were not adopted into many households because of poverty.

In reviewing the history of the Meiji period, one is struck by the difference between town and country and the difference between the rich and the poor. In many, many instances the people of provincial areas succeeded, with the government's aid, in securing for themselves at least some semblance of the facilities available in the cities, but the difference between the rich and poor became even more pronounced as new commodities appeared. As we have noted, in the last years of the nineteenth century there were tentative movements by workers and consumers to better their condition, but the government virtually stamped them out with the Police Act of 1900, without establishing really effective substitutes. As far as the Meiji period is concerned, the efforts of ordinary consumers to organize in their own interests ended in dismal failure.

In an age when a law forbidding employers to work minors more than ten hours a day could not be enacted, one cannot expect much, but even so, public and private relief work was disappointingly limited. The Fukuda Institute for Child Welfare, established in 1879, and the free lodging houses and employment agencies founded by the Salvation Army after 1906 were the most prominent attempts at welfare one can name. The first municipal effort in the vital field of employment guidance did not come until 1911, when three employment agencies were set up in Tokyo.

True, people banded together in cliques of one type or another to protect their interests, but the most typical reaction on the part of the individual was to try by dint of study and work to raise himself above the level of poverty. This was a selfish reaction in a sense, but at the same time it was one that

showed energy and intelligence. With the flood of new things from the West, Meiji society was in a sort of half-way stage, with nothing very certain or definite. The reaction of the Japanese people of this period to the conditions imposed upon them, not by their own wish but by the necessities of international politics, was energetic and in many ways brilliant. We only regret that we have been unable to describe it more thoroughly and more vividly in the foregoing text.



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